A study of teacher education, training and development in Cyprus

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A STUDY OF TEACHER EDUCATION, TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT IN CYPRUS

By Frixos C. Demetriades

ABSTRACT

This is a historical and empirical study of the system of education and professional development of Greek Cypriot teachers. It is divided into three parts. Part One surveys the historical evolution of the system from 1830 to 1960, a period which was marked by the establishment of Normal Schools, their replacement with Teachers' Training Colleges, and the change of the professional status of primary school teachers from community to Government employees. Part Two analyses the process of consolidation and reform of the system during the last 25 years (1960–1985), and examines the work and the problems of the Paedagogical Academy and of the Paedagogical Institute, and the increasing professionalisation of the teachers. Part Three is an empirical survey and statistical analysis of the views of nearly 4,000 teachers, student teachers, aspirants, teacher educators, representatives of the teachers' unions, and officials of the Ministry of Education on major current issues that confront the system.

The main recommendations, which are put forward, analysed and costed in the thesis, are the following: (a) Prospective secondary school teachers should be selected according to the quality of their academic qualifications, and irrespective of seniority as defined by their date of graduation from university, and be trained professionally at the Paedagogical Institute for one year before appointment. (b) The training course at the Paedagogical Academy should be extended from three to four years, and serving primary and pre-primary school teachers should complete successfully a supplementary course in their free time, before being placed on the same pay scales envisaged for their new and better qualified colleagues. (c) The Institute and the Academy should be staffed with tenured lecturers, who should also be charged with the task of advising new teachers in their schools during their probationary period. (d) The system of compulsory and voluntary in-service training courses at the Institute should be extended, consolidated and carefully validated, and in-service training credits should be recognised for promotion purposes in a quantifiable way, stated explicitly in the respective regulations.

University of Durham
May 1985

A STUDY OF TEACHER EDUCATION TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT IN CYPRUS

FRIXOS C. DEMETRIADES

VOLUME I : HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

Thesis submitted to the University of Durham for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

In two volumes

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION * UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM * MAY 1985

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DECLARATION

This study is entirely the work of the author. No part of this thesis has been previously submitted for a degree in the University of Durham or any other university.

Frixos C. Demetriades

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

It has been a rare privilege in the course of this study to have received academic advice from an exceptionally competent and resourceful supervisor who has been always eager to help. He is Mr. Richard Goodings, senior lecturer of Education in the University of Durham. His perceptive comments, in an advocatus diaboli function, and his expert advice have been of inestimable value in shaping my thesis in its present form. I am very grateful to him.

I would like to thank also the following people, who in one way or another have assisted my research efforts: Dr. John Koutsakos, director of the Paedagogical Institute of Cyprus and Mr. Michael Maratheftis, principal of the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus, who both encouraged me to undertake this study and enabled me to conduct my surveys through their institutions; Dr. Ulf Metzger, of the German Agency for Technical Co-operation, who introduced me to survey research, and supported this project in many other ways; Professor Dr. Wolfgang Mitter, of the German Institute for International Educational Research, in Frankfurt, where I spent a summer term studying for this thesis under his expert supervision; the 4,000 teachers, student teachers, "aspirants", teacher educators, and officials, who answered my questionnaires or gave me an interview; the staff of the Education Library and of the Computer Centre of the University of Durham for their advice on bibliographies and on data processing techniques; and Mrs. Christine Harper for typing this thesis.

The completion of this thesis, on which I had worked several years on a part-time basis, was made possible by a one-year scholarship, awarded by the Government of the Federal Republic of

Germany through the Scholarship Board of the Government of Cyprus. I am grateful to both of them.

Last, but not least, I am indebted to my wife, Chloe, for sharing patiently the discomforts of this venture.

Frixos C. Demetriades

TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME I : HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

(continued)

Table of Contents (continued)

(continued)

Table of Contents (continued)

(continued)

Table of Contents (continued)

(continued)

Table of Contents (continued)

(continued)

Table of Contents (continued)

(continued)

Table of Contents (continued)

(continued)

Table of Contents (continued)

VOLUME II : EMPIRICAL INQUIRY

PART THREE: AN EMPIRICAL SURVEY OF THE VIEWS OF TEACHERS AND OTHER INTERESTED PARTIES ON THE EDUCATION AND PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF TEACHERS IN CYPRUS

(continued)

Table of Contents (continued)

(continued)

Table of Contents (continued)

(continued)

Table of Contents (continued)

(continued)

Table of Contents (continued)

(continued)

Table of Contents (continued)

LIST OF FIGURES*

LIST OF TABLES**

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* The term figure is used as an all-inclusive term for maps, photographs, and diagrams.

** This list includes only Tables contained in the main text of the thesis. Tables are also included in several Appendices.

LIST OF APPENDICES

(continued)

List of Appendices (continued)

(continued)

List of Appendices (continued)

(continued)

List of Appendices (continued)

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List of Appendices (continued)

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(continued)

List of Appendices (continued)

(continued)

List of Appendices (continued)

I N T R O D U C T I O N

Aims, Methodology and Organisation of the Study

This is a study of the system of education and professional development of teachers in Cyprus. The aims of the study are as follows:

(1) To survey, analyse and discuss the historical evolution and the contemporary state of the system of education and professional development of teachers,

(2) to elicit, analyse and discuss the views of teachers and other interested parties on major current issues in the education and professional development of teachers, and

(3) to make recommendations for improvement of the system of education and professional development of teachers in Cyprus.

In this thesis the term "professional development of teachers" combines together two meanings: (a) the development of teaching as a profession and (b) the professional development of teachers as individuals. Another term used in this thesis and closely related to teaching as a profession is the term "professional status". This is used as an umbrella term to denote such items as tenure, salaries, social prestige, promotion prospects, administration and control of teachers, relations with employers and superiors and generally those aspects of their profession which have the connotation of the teacher as a worker who has to earn a living. The terms "education" and "training" are used interchangeably in this thesis, although strictly speaking they are not synonymous. The combined term

"education and training" is used whenever emphasis is placed on the fact that the preparation of teachers includes both specific aspects of what might be termed narrow vocational training in teaching skills, as well as wider notions of education as an initiation in the foundation disciplines of education and in the subject-matter each teacher will ultimately have to teach. The terms "initial" and "pre-service" are used to qualify the preparation of teachers before appointment, and the term "in-service" for such activities after their appointment. Of course, the term "in-service education and training" and the term "professional development of teachers as individuals" are closely related, but the latter term is wider, because a teacher develops professionally through other experiences too.

This is a study of the Greek Cypriot system only. Cyprus is still a divided country. Since July 1974 the north part of Cyprus has been occupied by the invading Turkish army and all Turkish Cypriots living in the South moved into the occupied areas, either tempted by their richness, or forced by their leadership to do so. The Greek Cypriots living in the occupied areas have been forcibly driven out by the invading forces and became refugees in the South. Communication between the occupied and the free areas of Cyprus is non-existent, and the North is inaccessible to the Greek Cypriots. It was therefore physically impossible for the author to obtain the views of the Turkish Cypriot teachers and educational administrators on the issues under consideration.

Comparatively few studies of teacher education in Cyprus have been attempted so far. Educational research in Cyprus is beset with many diffficulties, of which the chief one is probably the deep suspicion with which such work is viewed by all parties concerned. There are so many conflicting interests and concomitant points of view

on the part of school-leavers and graduates aspiring to become teachers, student teachers, serving teachers, teacher educators, educational administrators, and union officials, that the task of the researcher of the educational scene of Cyprus is particularly challenging. To eliminate bias, as far as possible, the author has collected his data from many different sources, both official and unofficial, and from all parties concerned with the education or the professional status of teachers in Cyprus. The guiding principle has been to scrutinize and compare the data from all these sources before reaching even tentative conclusions.

The author has been fortunate in having first hand knowledge of the situation and in having experienced the system of teacher education in Cyprus himself. He has been a student of the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus, which trains kindergarten and primary school teachers, and has served, first as a primary school teacher, and later, after further studies, as a secondary school teacher. For the last five years he has been on the teaching staff of the Paedagogical Institute of Cyprus, which is concerned with the in-service training of teachers at all levels of education. That post has placed the author in an environment favourable to educational research and enabled him, first to explore the subject under consideration, and then to collect most of the empirical data for this study. He is, nevertheless, aware of the disadvantages accrued by his personal involvement in some of the issues examined in this thesis and has therefore made an attempt to avoid personal bias.

As part of his duties at the Paedagogical Institute, the author was charged in 1980, together with a visiting foreign consultant, with the task of carrying out a survey and reporting on the in-service training needs of teachers in Cyprus. That survey served as

a pilot study for this thesis and gave the author a chance to interview many teachers of varied backgrounds. In that way the author has had very useful feedback from a representative sample of the teacher population, and has been able to identify and focus attention on six themes or issues which are considered important for teacher education in Cyprus. At the same time the author reviewed extensively the educational literature to identify similar themes or issues in other countries. These themes or issues have in most cases both a historical and contemporary dimension, and are treated throughout the thesis in an explicit way. Other related issues also emerge, both in the historical and in the empirical parts of the thesis, but the following six remain fundamental:

1. The methods of recruitment of teachers, their motives for choosing teaching as a career and their socioeconomic and educational backgrounds;

2. the content and organisation of the pre-service training of teachers;

3. the problems of induction of teachers during their early years of teaching;

4. the content and organisation of the in-service training of teachers;

5. the professional status of teachers as a function of their pre-service and in-service training; and

6. the main factors in the formulation of policies on the education and professional development of teachers in Cyprus.

Moreover the author has had many opportunities, in the course of his teaching duties at the Paedagogical Institute of Cyprus, to discuss and clarify the above issues with varied groups of teachers taking part in in-service training courses. These people also provided captive audiences for making pilot runs of questionnaires, followed by useful discussions on the issues raised. They themselves enjoyed these discussions, because they gave them the chance to air their views in an understanding environment. It was obvious, however, from the interviews with the teachers and the discussions carried out before finalising the questionnaires that the issues raised have their roots in the recent and sometimes in the distant history of teacher education in Cyprus. In fact it is impossible to understand the present system without studying its historical evolution and its post-independence development. This thesis, therefore, traces the evolution and the development of teacher education in Cyprus, focusing on the above themes.

The beginning of the present educational system of Cyprus dates back to 1830. But it was not until 1893, in the early years of the British Administration, that the first teachers' training institution, the Pancyprian Normal School, was set up. It was followed in 1903 by the Phaneromeni Normal School for Mistresses and, in 1917, by the Pancyprian Theological and Teachers' Training Seminary. The Normal Schools trained primary school teachers only and were controlled, the first two by the Nicosia School Committee, and the third directly by the Church. In the 1930s they were closed down and were replaced by Government institutions, the Teachers' Training College, Morphou, and the Mistresses' Training Centre, Nicosia. After independence (1960) they were transformed into a Paedagogical Academy. In 1975 the Academy undertook the training of kindergarten teachers

too. In the same year a Paedagogical Institute was set up to undertake the in-service training of teachers at all levels of education, and especially those in secondary education for whom no paedagogical pre-service training was required for appointment.

The sources of this thesis for the historical and the post-independence periods are many and varied and they represent many conflicting views. During the British Administration the conflict was mainly over the control of teachers, their education and the content of the school curriculum. This dispute was between the Colonial Government on the one hand and the people, headed by the Greek Orthodox Church, on the other. During the post-independence period controversy has centred more on the professional status of teachers and indirectly on their qualifications and their social functions. The employing Government was on the one side and the teachers' unions on the other.

The sources of the author are both primary and secondary and both official and unofficial. For the historical period they include official documents, mainly deposited with the Public Record Office in London, such as Colonial and Foreign Office Papers, Parliamentary Papers, Minutes of the Legislative Council of Cyprus, and the Cyprus Gazette. They also include Annual Colonial Reports, Annual Reports of the Department of Education of Cyprus, and other official reports directly or indirectly related to education. Other sources for this period are Church documents, such as the Codexes of the Archbishopric of Cyprus, Greek Cypriot newspapers, educational and other journals, books, and theses. Finally, two living sources, Dr. G.F. Sleight, who was the first principal of the Teachers' Training College (1937), and Mrs. Antigoni Michaelidou, who was the first principal of the Mistresses' Training Centre (1943), were interviewed by the author and they supplied valuable first hand information.

For the post-independence period the main sources of the author are the yearbooks of the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus, the files of the Paedagogical Institute, the files of the Ministry of Education related to the subject of this thesis, and the files of the teacher's unions. Other sources are reports of the Ministry of Education, reports by foreign experts on educational subjects, newspapers, educational and other journals, books, and theses.

The empirical component of this thesis is made up of five questionnaire studies and eight interview schedules. Each questionnaire, containing open questions only, was first answered and then discussed by a group of teachers attending an in-service training course. It was then redesigned in closed form and tested on another group of teachers attending another in-service training course, and a discussion followed. After this preliminary work each questionnaire was tested several times with small samples of its target population. Finally, each questionnaire was administered to its target population, or a representative sample of it, either directly or postally. The target populations can be classified into five categories, as follows:

(a) The "aspirants", consisting of secondary school leavers who aspired to become teachers, and university graduates who aspired to be appointed as secondary school teachers;

(b) the "young teachers", consisting of teachers holding an appointment on contract or on probation, and student teachers;

(c) the "serving teachers", consisting of all the teachers teaching in state schools;

(d) the "teacher educators", consisting of the staff of the

Paedagogical Adademy and of the Paedagogical Institute; and

(e) the "officals", consisting of senior officials of the teachers' unions and of the Ministry of Education.

These target populations either have different problems or represent different points of view, and it is the aim of this thesis to bring out and discuss these differences. For a start the teaching profession is deeply differentiated as far as pre-service preparation is concerned. Kindergarten and primary school teachers can qualify only by attending a three-year pre-service training course at the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus. Admission to the Academy is regulated through a competitive entrance examination and the number of students is determined according to the projected needs of the educational system for kindergarten and primary school teachers. During their studies the students of the Academy receive free tuition and a maintenance grant from the state, and they are almost assured of appointment on graduation. On the contrary, secondary school teachers can study in any university of the world, at their own expense. Cyprus does not have a university yet. The only qualification required of any applicant for a post of secondary school teacher is a degree from a university in one of the subjects of the secondary school curriculum; there is as yet no requirement for pre-service paedagogical training. In this way the number of kindergarten and primary school teachers is controlled, whereas that of the secondary school teachers is not. In 1972, when the supply of secondary school teachers began to exceed the demand, the Government decided that applicants should be placed on a waiting list, mainly according to seniority. The number of those on the list has since then increased to the extent that there were in 1982 more than twice as many applicants as there were secondary school

teachers serving in the schools of the country. To add to the differentiation, secondary school teachers are subject teachers, while kindergarten and primary school teachers are generalists, teaching most of the subjects of the primary school curriculum. Secondary school teachers are better paid than kindergarten and primary school teachers who, in addition, may be posted to a remote village having a one-teacher primary school. In this way the secondary school teacher in Cyprus enjoys a higher social status than his colleague in primary education, although both are civil servants.

A questionnaire was postally administered to all the secondary school-leavers who were about to graduate in 1979 and who had expressed an aspiration to follow teaching as a career. It was concerned mainly with reasons that influence school-leavers in deciding to take up teaching as a career, with their socio-economic and educational backgrounds and their perceptions of the attributes that are considered necessary for a successful teaching career. Another questionnaire was administered postally to a representative sample of the aspiring secondary school teachers on the waiting list, in July 1982. The main purpose of that questionnaire was to explore the hypothesis that appointment by seniority leads to loss to other professions of good graduates who intended to become teachers.

The questionnaire for students studying at the Paedagogical Academy to qualify as kindergarten or primary school teachers was administered directly to them by the author, at the Academy, in January 1983. The main aim of that questionnaire was to enquire into the views of student teachers concerning their profession and their studies. Another aim was to investigate their reasons for choosing teaching as a career and their socio-economic and educational backgrounds in order to compare them with those revealed in the questionnaire for school-

leavers aspiring to become teachers four years earlier. The questionnaire for the young teachers was intended for teachers not yet appointed permanently to a post, but who were, in January 1983, either on contract or on probation. Those secondary school teachers who were on probation were then following the one-year day-release in-service training course at the Paedagogical Institute, and the questionnaire was administered directly to them by the author. A sample of those secondary school teachers who were on contract, received the questionnaire by post. Similarly a sample of those primary or pre-primary school teachers who were either on contract or on probation received the questionnaire by post. The main purpose of that questionnaire was to enquire into their problems of induction during their early years of teaching.

A questionnaire for serving teachers was administered postally, in May 1982, to a large sample of them, forming one third of all teachers in state schools. It is a comprehensive questionnaire dealing with the content and organisation of in-service training provisions, salaries, social prestige, and promotion prospects and the measures needed to improve education in Cyprus.

Finally, semi-structured interviews of the "teacher educators" and of the "officials" were carried out. They included the principals and the lecturers of the Paedagogical Academy and the Paedagogical Institute respectively, the general secretaries of the teachers' unions, the chief inspectors, and the Director General of the Ministry of Education. The purpose of these interviews was to examine the issues raised in the previous five questionnaire studies from the point of view of the "teacher educators" and of the "officials".

The thesis is divided into three parts, and it is bound in two volumes. Volume I contains the introductory material and Parts One

and Two, and Volume II contains Part Three and the reference material. The introductory material includes, among other items, Chapter 1, which gives certain preliminary information on the socioeconomic context of education in Cyprus. Part One, consisting of chapters 2 to 6, deals with the historical evolution of the education and professional development of teachers in Cyprus up to independence (1960). Part Two, consisting of chapters 7 to 11, deals with the consolidation and reform of the education and professional development of teachers in independent Cyprus (1960-1985). Part Three, made up of chapters 12 to 16, is an empirical survey of views of teachers and other interested parties on major current issues in the education and professional development of teachers in Cyprus.

A certain amount of discussion is included in each chapter, but the last chapter of each part is specifically a review and discussion chapter. Thus, Chapter 6 is a review and discussion of the salient aspects and interrelations of major issues, trends and practices that shaped the education and professional status of teachers in Cyprus during colonial times. Similarly Chapter 11 is a review and discussion of the same or similar issues that recurred during the last twenty five years of Cypriot independence. Finally, Chapter 16 is a generalised discussion of major current issues in the education and professional development of teachers in Cyprus, with particular reference to the official positions of the teachers' unions and of the Ministry of Education on these issues.

CHAPTER 1

THE SOCIOECONOMIC CONTEXT OF EDUCATION IN CYPRUS

No study of a system of teacher education could give a complete picture of the situation, if it did not concern itself also with the social and economic status of the teaching profession, within the general socioeconomic context of the country concerned. In the course of a survey of in-service training needs of teachers in Cyprus, which in effect became the pilot study for this thesis, it emerged unambiguously that the professional effectiveness of teachers is a function not only of their pre-service and in-service education and training but also of their professional committment and morale, which reflect their satisfaction with their social and economic status.[1*] The purpose of this chapter is to give certain preliminary information about the geographical characteristics of Cyprus, its changing socioeconomic context, its people, their social values and their drive for education, all of which influence either directly or indirectly the education and professional status of teachers.

1.1 Geographical Characteristics of Cyprus

The island of Cyprus is located in the Eastern Mediterranean, on latitude 35°N. and longitude 33°E. (see Figure 1.1). It is situated on the crossroads of Asia, Africa and Europe, only 40 miles south of Turkey, 60 miles west of Syria, 240 east of the Greek Island of Rhodes, and 240 miles north of the Suez Canal. Cyprus is a comparatively large island but a small country. It covers an area of

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*Notes and references to this chapter start on page 849.

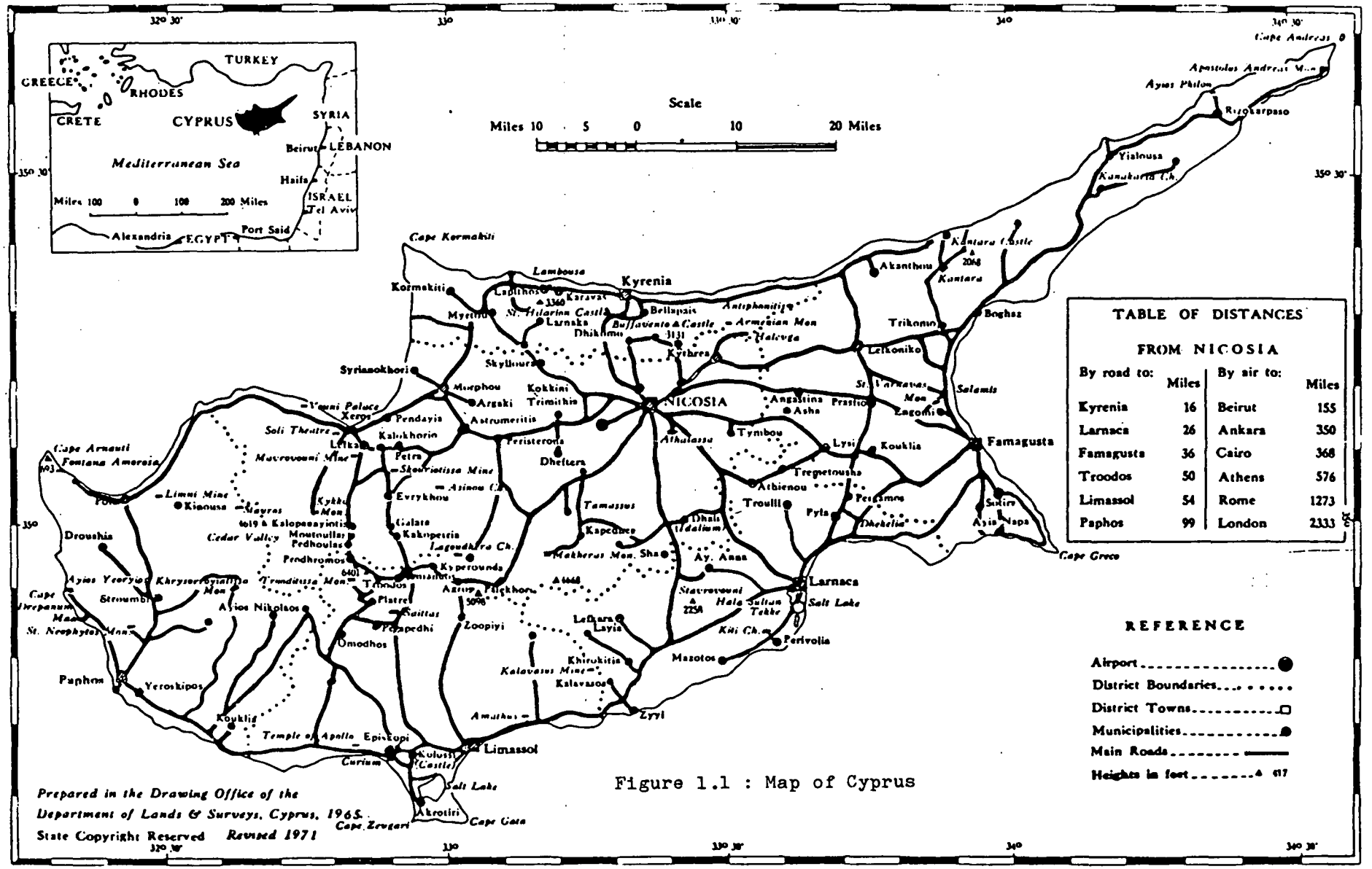


Figure 1.1 : Map of Cyprus

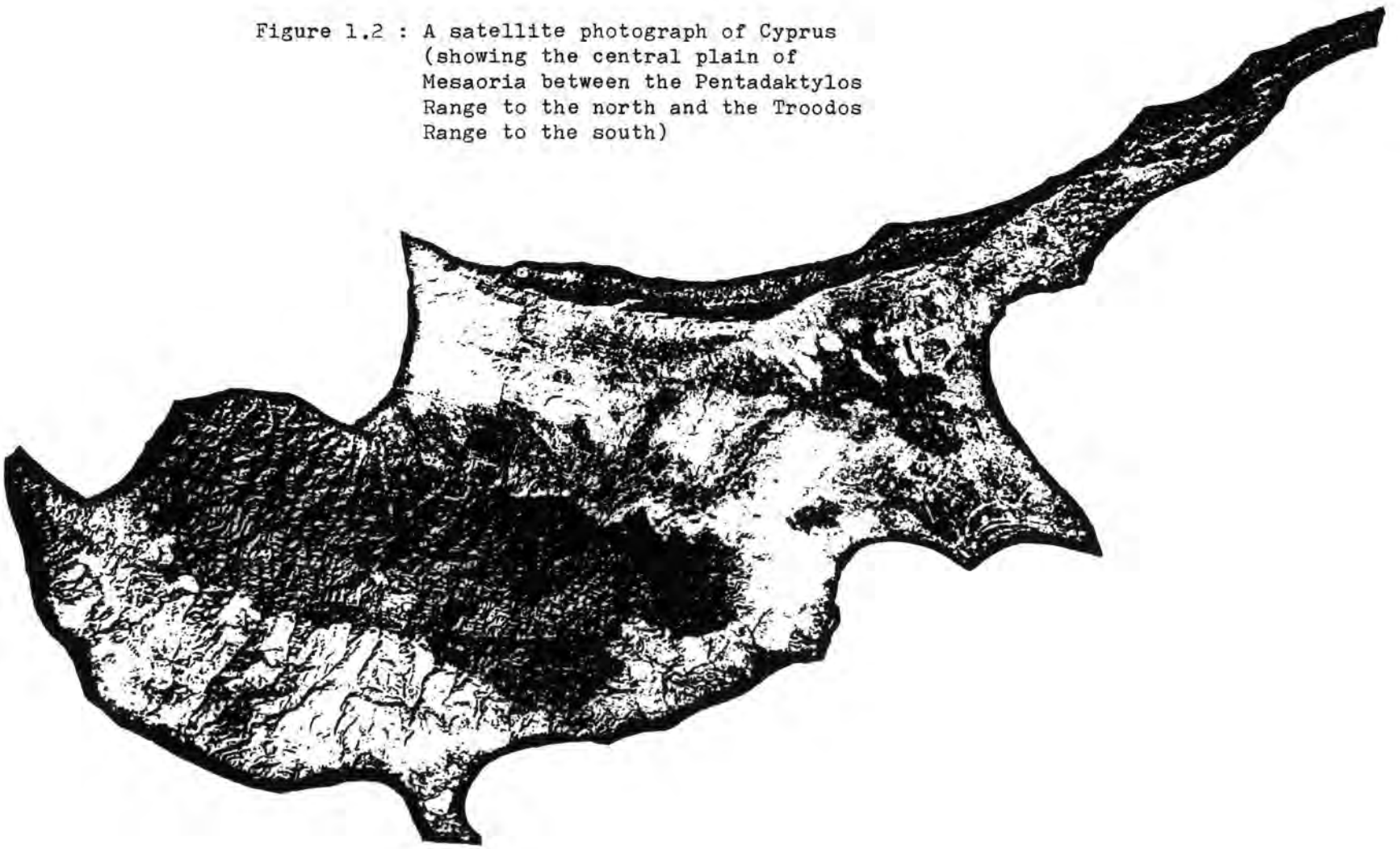
about 3,572 square miles, making it the third largest island in the Mediterranean, after Sicily and Sardinia. Its greatest length is about 140 miles from east to west and its greatest breadth is about 60 miles from north to south.

The island's main physical characteristics are the central "Messaoria" plain, the two mountain ranges of "Pentadaktylos" in the north and "Troodos" in the southwest, and the coastal lowlands (see Figure 1.2). The coastline varies constantly from rocky stretches to long sandy beaches. The Messaoria plain covers about 30 per cent of the island, the coastal lowlands another 30 per cent, and the rest is the two mountain ranges. The Messaoria plain has a breadth of 12 to 15 miles and is open to the sea on the east and on the west. The Pendadaktylos range rises to about 1,000 metres above sea level, while the Troodos massif is twice as high. About 19 per cent of the area of Cyprus is forested, mainly on the two mountain ranges.

Cyprus enjoys a typical Mediterranean climate with well defined summer and winter seasons, but spring and autumn are often short and indistinguishable as seasons. Winters are mild, with a mean January temperature of 10°C on the central Messaoria plain, and 4°C on the highest reaches of the Troodos range. Summers are hot, with a mean July temperature of 29°C on the central Messaoria plain and 22°C on the Troodos massif. Sunshine is abundant during the whole year, but particularly so from April to September, when the average duration of bright sunshine is 11.5 hours per day. Snow occurs rarely on the lowlands but falls frequently every winter on places above 1,000 metres high, such as the Troodos mountains, and lasts usually from early December to early April. Fog and drizzle are very rare, winds generally light to moderate, and visibility is very good.[2]

Shortage of rainfall is a constant problem in Cyprus. The

Figure 1.2 : A satellite photograph of Cyprus (showing the central plain of Mesaoria between the Pentadaktylos Range to the north and the Troodos Range to the south)



average annual total precipitation for the island as a whole is 500 millimetres. The bulk of the rainfall is confined to the winter months and it very seldom rains in the summer. There are no rivers in Cyprus, only torrents which dry up in the summer. Irrigation, therefore, is indispensable during the summer. Several dams have been built and water conservation schemes have been developed to tackle the irrigation problem that is accentuated by the porous soil and rapid summer evaporation. Despite these handicaps, about 47 per cent of the area of the island is cultivated, of which roughly half is irrigated in some manner. Agriculture has always been one of the major economic activities in the island.

The diversity of topography and climate results in a wide range of microclimatic conditions which permit the diversification of crop production. Basically two types of agriculture are discernible in Cyprus: (a) the traditional rainfed or dryland agriculture, which produces cereals, winegrapes, olives, carobs, almonds and tobacco, and (b) the irrigated, progressively mechanised agriculture which produces citrus fruits, potatoes, vegetables, table grapes, bananas and fruits of deciduous trees. The principal crops in the lowlands are wheat and barley, vegetables, potatoes and citrus fruit. A large area of the southern and western slopes of the Troodos mountains is occupied by vineyards. Deciduous fruit trees are grown in the fertile mountain valleys. The olive tree and the carob tree grow almost everywhere but flourish particularly on sea facing slopes. The arid parts of the plains and the bare mountain sides are used for the grazing of sheep and goats. The most valuable export crops are citrus fruits, potatoes, vegetables and table grapes.[3]

1.2. Changing Economic Conditions

The economy of Cyprus has passed through several phases, which have had an influence on the provisions for the education of teachers and on their professional status. Teacher education as paedagogical preparation of future primary school teachers started in 1893, fifteen years after the beginning of the British Administration. When the British took over the island from the Turks, it was a poor and neglected dominion of the Ottoman Empire.[4] For a number of decades the British lacked direction and purpose in their administration of the island. The very way in which they acquired the country (in 1878) had an air of temporariness which did not encourage long-term planning or investment. Moreover, as explained in Chapter 2, the "tribute" was a constant drain on the economic resources of the island. They concentrated on the enforcement of the law and on the provision of very basic services of communication, such as bridges and harbours. Even colonial administrators of the island, such as Captain Orr[5] and Sir Ronald Storrs[6] were convinced of the bureaucratic approach of the British Government, whose measures were meant more to salvage the dignity of the Administration than to improve the appalling situation of the then predominantly rural population of the island. But in fairness to the British, their rule offered security, justice was and also seen to be done, and much of the corruption that had characterised the Turkish Rule disappeared. Compared to the Turkish Rule the British Administration was much better, but progress was very slow.

Only after 1925, when the island was annexed to the British Crown, was there a definite change of attitude. But the stagnation of the late 1920s and of the 1930s was not conducive to economic expansion.[7] The period after World War II was a period of economic

prosperity for Cyprus. The Colonial Government drew up a "Ten-year Programme of Development for Cyprus" which was steadily and progressively put into effect.[8] Exports of copper ore and cupreous and iron pyrites moved steadily upwards, as mineral prices soared in European markets, and created thousands of jobs for the Cypriots. The island itself became a "police station" for the British. The general contraction of the British Empire increased the importance of Cyprus as a strategic outpost in the sensitive area of the Middle East. Investment in the construction of the military bases in Cyprus meant more work for the local people. In this way the last decade of British Rule was a period of prosperity and full employment for the Cypriots. But it was an artificial boom, mainly due to the money spent by the British in building and maintaining their military bases, and not to productive investment or development of national resources.[9]

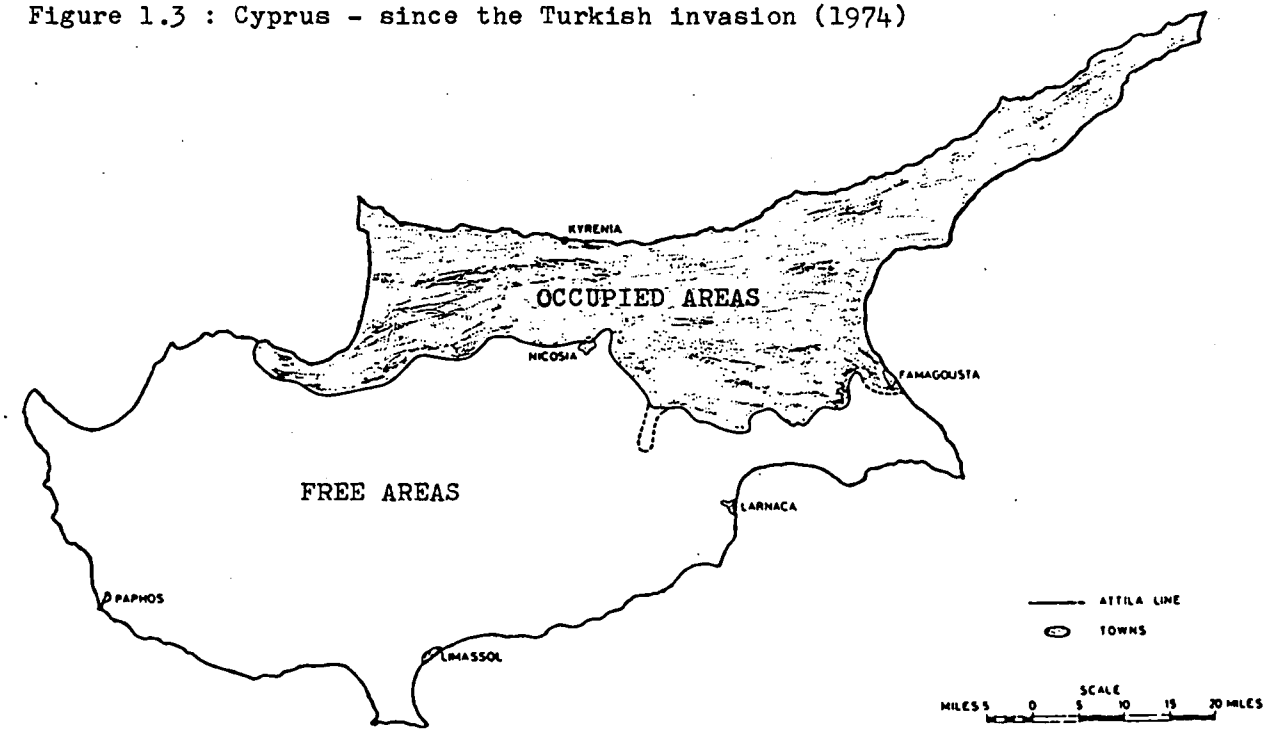
After independence (1960) Britain withdrew many of her troops from Cyprus, but retained her military bases. There was then extensive unemployment in the island, high emigration, and fears of possible devaluation of the Cyprus currency. The economy showed all the symptoms of underdevelopment, and in particular an insignificant contribution of industry and lack of necessary institutions and infrastructure. Against that background, a United Nations team of experts was invited to study the situation and advise the Government of Cyprus on economic matters. Their report which came to be known as the "Thorp Report"[10], after the name of the director of the mission, formed the basis of three successive "five-year plans" for the development of the Cyprus economy.[11] Subsequently the situation improved quickly and the period from 1961 to 1974 was one of economic growth and social progress for Cyprus.

The task of development in independent Cyprus was not easy.

Cyprus is not rich in natural resources and its small domestic market is a serious impediment to growth. But sound economic planning by the Government ensured efficient utilisation of the available resources and diversification of economic activities. The development of the most productive sectors of the economy, that is agriculture, light industry and tourism - especially the latter - was spectacular. The presence of the United Nations peace-keeping force in Cyprus, after the intercommunal troubles of 1964, also helped the balance of payments. The rate of growth of the national income over the period 1961 to 1974 was on average over 11 per cent per annum, which was quite high by international standards. Conditions of near full employment were obtained, emigration was reversed, and the balance of payments was generally in surplus. The Cypriots enjoyed during that period one of the highest living standards in the area, and the social policy of the state ensured that the fruits of prosperity, including education, were gradually distributed to all sections of the population. But it is only fair to state in this context that the Turkish Cypriots, who withdrew into their enclaves after the intercommunal troubles of 1964, did not share in that economic prosperity.[12]

The Turkish invasion of Cyprus in July and August 1974 halted the economic advance of the island and caused tremendous economic and even survival problems. About 40 per cent of the territory of Cyprus was occupied by the Turkish army (see figure 1.3). The area occupied is the richest part of the island. It has been estimated that 70 per cent of the total gross production of the country, in the year of the invasion, emanated from the occupied areas, and that the value of land and investments in fixed assets belonging to the Greek Cypriots in those areas amounted to £2.5 billion. About 200,000 Greek Cypriots, forming about 40 per cent of the population,

Figure 1.3 : Cyprus - since the Turkish invasion (1974)



were forced by the invading forces to abandon their homes in the North and, carrying little of their movable property, to seek shelter in the South, in refugee camps or temporary accommodation. The Turkish Cypriots living in the South moved into the occupied areas either tempted by their richness or forced to do so by their leaders. In this way a defacto and complete separation has been established.[13]

To relieve and assist the displaced people, the Government enacted "Public Assistance" laws, and established a "Special Relief Service" together with a "Refugees Fund" to collect and administer local and foreign aid. At the same time "Emergency Economic Action Plans" were drafted and put into effect. The Government pursued a deliberate deficit financing policy. The immediate aim was to reactivate the public and the private sector of the shuttered economy so as to create employment opportunities. Engineers and technicians were encouraged to work on construction projects in Arab countries. An extensive rehousing programme for the refugees was also gradually put into effect.[14]

The rehabilitation programme was quite successful, but many of the underlying problems resulting from the invasion continue to be present, although they are gradually diminishing. The displacement of such a large section of the population has above all caused social problems of enormous dimensions, the solution of which will take a very long time. The following extract from the address by the Minister of Finance, at an international symposium of journalists in Nicosia, on the third anniversary of the Turkish invasion, colourfully describes the agony and the drama of Cyprus behind external appearances:

> "To the fly-by-night visitor, to the uninitiated, to the traveller who spends a few days in the free part of Cyprus visiting the places of tourist attraction and the urban shopping centres, present-day Cyprus may give a misleading picture of the

> actual situation. External appearances are likely to hide the drama of the people and the tragedy which has befallen this martyred Island. Thus, unless one delves deeper and seeks information about what has actually happened and is still going on, following the Turkish invasion in 1974, he may not learn that about 40% of the population in the free part of Cyprus are refugees in their own country, people who have been forcibly expelled and uprooted from their homes and properties and have sought refuge in the free part of Cyprus carrying with them nothing of their belongings except their clothes. He may not learn that the homes and properties of these people, valued at billions of pounds, have been usurped and systematically looted. He may not find out that from the point of view of resources and economic potential the part of Cyprus under foreign occupation represents some 70% of the whole. He may not hear of the indiscriminate killing of thousands of innocent people, of the drama of the families of the missing persons, of the atrocities perpetrated by the invaders. Yet, behind the smile and the dignity lie the hard facts of economic life, the agony and the drama; but also the determination not to succumb to brute force and to persist and endure until a dignified and just solution is found to the political problem."[15]

Agriculture still remains an important economic activity in Cyprus. In 1980 agriculture, forestry and fishing employed approximately 25.2 per cent of the gainfully active population and contributed 11 per cent to the gross domestic product at current prices. The farmers in Cyprus are familiar with the use of fertilisers and insecticides, and mechanisation of agriculture has substantially advanced. The Government assists agricultural development by developing the agricultural infrastructure, by agricultural research and dissemination of relevant information to the rural population, and by direct subsidies. Despite these measures, agricultural imports exceed agricultural exports. The per capita income of the Cypriot farmer remains low, and continues to be one of the reasons of the depopulation of the countryside.[16]

The main problem in the agricultural sector has been, and still is, the shortage of water. Yet another problem is the fragmentation of land. Agriculture in Cyprus is in the hands of small landholders. This is mainly due to historical reasons. The laws of

inheritance required, since the beginning of the Turkish Rule, the division of immovable property in specified shares. In this way a farmer may own one small field miles away from another small field, and there are even some exceptional cases where a tree or well can belong to many people. Even today, when employment outside agriculture is ample, there is a great reluctance to give up one's share in the family holding. With mechanization of agriculture, it is easy to farm land by paying the owner of a tractor or a harvester to do it. Even if this is not an economically viable proposition, instead of selling the land, one would rather keep it for a rainy day. The difficulties inherent in this system as regards irrigation, conservation and investment in machinery and travelling time make it an uneconomic method of farming. A start has, however, been made on pilot schemes for land consolidation by purchase or exchange of property.[17]

Mining is one of the oldest industries in Cyprus, starting with the Copper Age, i.e. circa 5,000 B.C. Authorities disagree whether the island took its name from copper or vice-versa. Today the mining products of Cyprus are various kinds of copper, iron and chrome ores, asbestos, gypsum and quarrying materials for the building industry. Again, the invasion has had an impact on mining activities, but the continuing depletion of known ore reserves is also a reason for the decline of the industry which used to play the leading role in the economy of the island. However, it is still an important foreign exchange earner. In 1980 the industry employed only 1,675 people representing one per cent of the gainfully employed population. In the same year mineral exports amounted to £7.3 millions, representing only 4 per cent of the total domestic exports. In 1970 minerals represented 35 per cent of exports while in 1960 they represented 58 per cent of them. The change is dramatic. Under the mines and quarries laws the

control of minerals is vested in the Republic, and an effort is being made to find new ore deposits by intense geological surveys.[18]

Light industry is today the largest contributor to the gross domestic product. It is export orientated and has taken advantage of the growing markets of the Middle East. In 1980 the manufacturing sector employed 38,514 persons representing about 22 per cent of the gainfully employed population.[19] During the last five years the main industrial sub-sectors which showed a high average annual growth were those of clothing, furniture, leather, rubber, machinery, electrical goods and the cottage industry. The importance of the manufacturing sector in the economy of Cyprus increased after the Turkish invasion, which left large areas of fertile land and rich in natural resources in the occupied north part of the island. The manufacturing sector is an expanding sector, but it has many structural problems. There are many small-size industries in Cyprus, resulting in low productivity and low competitiveness. Many industrial units are concerned with the final stages of production so that the added value to an industrial product is small. Most of these industries are family businesses run on the traditional patterns of low technology. Most primary materials are imported and there are cases where there is a shortage of specialised labour.[20]

Tourism is an expanding sector of the economy of Cyprus and a major source of "invisible earnings". The Turkish invasion caused a serious setback to tourism too. The occupied areas, which include the most developed tourist resorts of Famagusta and Kyrenia, in the year of the invasion comprised 61 per cent of fixed tourist assets and attracted 75 per cent of the tourists staying in hotels.[21] The Government has since then made great efforts to revitalize the tourist industry and they have already produced very encouraging results. In

1982 the number of tourists visiting the free areas of Cyprus was equal to the native population of these areas.[22] With such an expansion, tourism has become again a key sector of the economy. The calculated gross foreign earnings from tourism in 1981 were around £102 million or 21 per cent of all foreign exchange receipts from goods and services. Tourism also accounted in that year, for about 9 per cent of the total employment.[23] The healthy climate and the natural beauties of the island, its unspoiled environment, its archaeological wealth and the traditional hospitality of its people make Cyprus an ideal place for holidays.

In summary, during the post-independence period the economy of Cyprus has undergone many changes. It was characterised in 1960 by stagnation, unemployment and underemployment, heavy dependence on mineral exports and foreign military expenditure, insignificant contribution of industry and lack of necessary institutions and infrastructure. Despite the catastrophic setback of the Turkish invasion in 1974, the economy in the 1980's is characterised by conditions of near-full employment, an export-oriented industrial sector, a thriving tourist industry, an extensive network of infrastructural projects and a modern system of social benefits. Living standards have improved considerably, given that the per capita gross national income at current prices went up from £164 in 1960 to £1,500 in 1980, which is substantial by international standards. A comparative picture of the economic and social position of the Greek Cypriots in 1960 and in 1980 is shown in Table 1.1.[24]

The picture shown in Table 1.1 does not imply that there are no problems. Despite the significant growth in exports and the contribution of tourism to invisible earnings, the trade gap has widened and the economy is now "overheated". The need to replace

TABLE 1.1

Various Indicators of Development of the Cyprus Economy 1960-1980*

Economic Indicator	1960 Whole of Cyprus	1980 Free Areas Only
Gross National Income at Current Prices (£ mln)	94.2	767.7
Population (000)	574	511
Gross National Income per Capita at Current Prices (£)	164	1500
Average Annual Rate of Growth: G.D.P. / Productivity		
1960-73 7.1% 5.6%		
1975-80 9.5% 5.8%		
Percentage of Economically Active Population in Agriculture	46.6%	25.2%
Domestic Exports per Capita at Current Pr.	29	291
Percentage Share in Domestic Exports		
Agricultural Produce	27.8%	23.1%
Minerals	57.7%	4.9%
Manufacturing Products	14.1%	71.8%
Life Expectancy (Average Life Span)	66.2	73.4
Infant Mortality Rate (Number per Thousand Births)	29.9	17.2
Population : Doctor Ratio	1467	912
Literacy Rate	80.8%	89.3%
Percentage of Children Attending Elementary Education	88%	100%
Percentage of Children Attending Secondary Education	48%	88%
Number of Tertiary Education Students per Thousand Inhabitants	11	24
Percentage of Villages Directly Linked to the Electricity Network	15%	100%
Percentage of Houses with Piped Water		
Urban Areas	95%	100%
Rural Areas	16%	98%
Number of Telephones per 1000 Inhabitants	18	131
Number of Television Sets per 1000 Inhabitants	4	155
Population : Private Car Ratio	22.0	5.7
Average Consumption of Electricity per Capita (in kWh)	311	1407

*Source : Republic of Cyprus, Address before the House of Representatives by the Minister of Finance, 1982, p. 5.

productive assets to meet the consumer demand for durable goods to replenish new refugee households, and the heavy expenditure on infrastructure projects have increased the pressure on the balance of payments in recent years. Inflation reached 13.5 per cent in 1980 and the oil bill for the same year was about 19 per cent of the total cost of imports.[25] Human resources remain the major asset of Cyprus, and that is why education is so important to the Cypriots even from the economic point of view.

1.3 Population Profiles and the Modernisation Process

The total de jure population of Cyprus at the end of 1981, comprising all those who usually live in Cyprus, was estimated to be 641,600, of which 518,000 were estimated to be Greek Cypriots.[26] In 1960 the total de facto population of the island, comprising all those who were actually present in the country, according to the official census of that year, was 573,666. It was made up of 441,656 Greek Cypriots, forming 77 per cent of the population, and 104,942 Turkish Cypriots forming 18 per cent of the population; the remaining 5 per cent was made up of English, Armerians, Maronites and other minorities.[27]

The total population of Cyprus at census years is shown in Table 1.2.[28] As shown in this table the total population of Cyprus has increased three and a half times over the past century. The fastest population growth at an annual rate of 1.7 per cent took place in the period 1931 to 1960. This rate is high compared to rates observed in European countries during the same period, but low compared to that of other developing countries. After the Turkish invasion (1974) there was a decrease due to human losses sustained during the

war and massive migration following those events. After 1976 the population again increased with an estimated annual rate of growth of 0.6 per cent. Population growth, of course, refers to the state of balance reached in a particular year among mortality, fertility and migration rates.[29]

TABLE 1.2

Population of Cyprus at Census Years*

Census Date	Population	Average Annual Percentage Rate of Growth
1881, 4th April	186,173	
		1.2
1891, 6th April	209,286	
		1.3
1901, 31st March	237,022	
		1.5
1911, 2nd April	274,108	
		1.3
1921, 24th April	310,715	
		1.1
1931, 27th April	347,959	
		1.7
1946, 10th November	450,114	
		1.7
1960, 11th November	573,566	
		0.8
1973, 1st April	631,778	
		-0.9
1976, 30th September	612,851	
		0.6
End of 1981 (estimate)	641,600	-

*Source : Republic of Cyprus, Demographic Report, 1981, pp. 43-53.

The improvement of the standard of living, the widening of medical knowledge and the amelioration of public health services have, over the years, resulted in a continuous decline in mortality. The crude death rate, a rough measure of mortality, was 14 deaths per

thousand of population in the 1930's, whereas it is about 9 today. The average life expectancy was 58 years in the 1930's, whereas it is 74 years today. Similarly the crude birth rate dropped from 30 births per thousand of population in the 1940's to about 25 in the early 1960's, reached a minimum of about 16 in 1975, after which it increased to about 21 in the early 1980's. Today the "two-to-three child family" pattern is the most popular in Cyprus.[30]

Cyprus has been mainly an emigration country. The factors leading to migration have been either "push" factors from Cyprus or "pull" factors from the receiving countries. These factors were mainly economic, political, cultural, social, or educational. Economic developments have on average failed to keep pace with demographic growth and limited employment opportunities have forced young people seeking employment to emigrate. The political situation, resulting at times in a state of uncertainty, has been a strong push factor. On the other hand better employment opportunities and higher salaries abroad, as well as economic prosperity and political stability in the receiving countries, usually constituted pull factors. Other pull factors were historical and cultural links between Cyprus and the receiving countries. Social factors pertained where friends or members of a family had already emigrated and were successful in their country of adoption, and they wanted to bring over other relatives or to marry with somebody from Cyprus.

Finally, another important push-pull factor was education. The number of university graduates has by far outstripped demand during the last ten years. These overeducated Cypriots were likely to emigrate either because they could not find a suitable job in Cyprus or because they were pulled by the cultural climate of the country in which they had studied. In the 1950's and 1960's the main country of

settlement for those emigrating was the United Kingdom. During the last decade, however, Australia is the country most preferred by Cypriot emigrants, while a significant number has gone to Greece.

The variations of emigration during the last twenty years were mostly a reflection of the political situation in Cyprus. Emigration was small during periods of political calm and economic prosperity and large during periods of economic recession, political upheaval and armed struggle. Such peaks were soon after independence, during the intercommunal strife of 1964, and after 1974 as a result of the invasion. During the year 1961 alone, 13,500 people, that is about 2.4 per cent of the population of Cyprus, emigrated. Today emigration is almost equal to immigration.[31]

The population profile for the year of independence (1960), indicated a youthful structure of the population, with a broad base in the population pyramid, narrowing smoothly to the top (see figure 1.4).[32] From the planning point of view that meant an increasing demand on the educational system of Cyprus, even if all the other factors that contributed to the educational demand remained constant. As a matter of fact the educational provisions during the last twenty years have expanded to meet the demand. That meant an increase in the number of both primary and secondary school teachers and, therefore, an expansion in teacher education. The population profile for 1981 was quite different (see figure 1.4). Children in the 5 to 14 years cohort were only 82 per cent of those in the 15 to 19 years cohort.[33] Since the age cohort of 5 to 14 corresponds to the primary and lower secondary school ages, if all the other factors of demand remain constant, there will be no further need for secondary school teachers up to the end of the decade. This obviously affects teacher education.

Another problem related to the spatial rather than the age

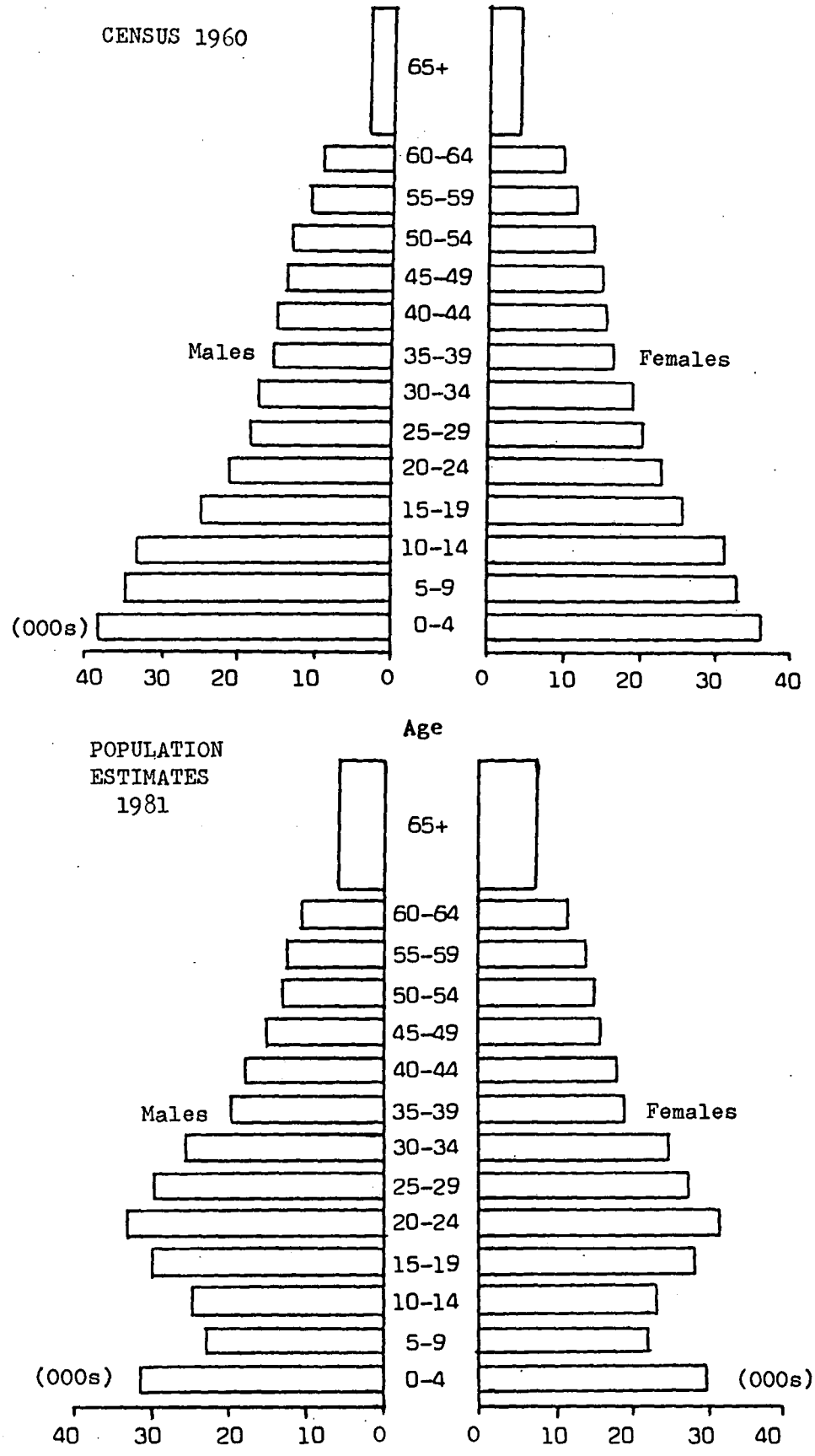


Figure 1.4 : Population Distribution by Age and Sex in 1960 and 1981

Source : ?

distribution of the population is urbanisation. Cyprus has experienced its fastest urbanisation during the last three decades. In 1946 only 26 per cent of its total population were living in urban areas; in 1960 this proportion rose to 36 per cent and by 1973 to 42 per cent. As a result of the Turkish invasion in 1974, a significant proportion of the displaced rural population took refuge in the towns, where they were most likely to find a job, boosting in that way the urban share of the population to 53 per cent.[34]

The reasons for the convergence from the rural to the urban areas were again of the push-pull type. Historically the first reason has been the harsh reality of rural life. During the first fifty years of British Rule, so unstable was the level of crop production from year to year and so unscrupulous were the money lenders, that a colonial administrator surveying rural conditions in 1927-8 found that 82 per cent of the people who owned land were in debt.[35] Urbanisation was a way of escaping from those bitter experiences. In the absence of a banking system, the money lenders were the main sources of loans for the needy farmers, and they lent at exorbitant compound interest rates. In 1940 the situation became so desperate that the Government decided to intervene in order to lighten the burden of the exploited peasants. In 1940 the Government enacted the "Agricultural Debtors' Relief Law of 1940" which prevented money lenders from taking over a debtor's land and caused all agricultural debts to be evaluated and revised by the courts.[36] With the active encouragement of the Government, Co-operative Societies were established in most villages and offered loans at comparatively low and fixed interest rates. So the tendency towards urbanisation that resulted from the corrupt practices of the money lenders was checked. But very soon other factors came into play. The increasing use of agricultural machinery, especially since the end of

World War II, made redundant many labourers in the rural areas who sought work in the towns. The better prospects of employment which came about because of the expansion of industry and commerce as well as of the civil service, especially after independence, pulled many people from the rural areas to the towns. In addition the better educational opportunities afforded in the towns, and the attraction of school-leavers to white-collar jobs available in the urban areas, pulled many more people to these areas.[37]

It must be emphasised, however, that the distinction between urban and rural areas is not so marked in Cyprus today as in other countries. With the improvement of the road network and the tremendous increase in the number of vehicles, especially since independence, the urban areas became more readily accessible as places of work for many people. Many villagers use the towns as places of work and their villages as dormitories. It must be noted in this respect that most of the 600 or so Cypriot villages are within only one hour's drive from the nearest town. On the other hand, although urbanisation involves the concentration of population in towns, it also involves the diffusion of urban values, behaviour and institutions to the rural areas.

The rural areas of Cyprus have been under considerable urban influence since the colonial times. A most important medium of diffusion of urban values has been education. In the early years of the Colonial Administration an important institutional change was introduced: the allocation of a small government grant-in-aid to those communities who were in a position to set up and support a primary school. From their own angle Cypriot leaders saw education as an important vehicle for spreading nationalism and supported the idea, so that most villages soon acquired a primary school. Similar diffusion

of urban values to rural areas came about with the boom of secondary education after World War II, although most secondary schools are in the towns and the pupils have to travel to their school every day. Education, as an instrument of socialisation of the young into modern ideas, attitudes and practices, is at the heart of every modernisation process. On the other hand, as was stated earlier, with the mechanisation of agriculture fewer hands were needed in the rural areas, so that a part of the labour force either migrated to the towns or commuted daily to them, using the towns as places of work and their villages as dormitories. These commuters, by being in daily contact with the town, easily adopted its values and its way of living. Simultaneously the mass media have developed rapidly and their influence was tremendous on all sections of the population in all areas. Hence, the urban social values tended to be assimilated by the people of the rural areas, through education, the mass media and the daily commuting to the urban centres.[38]

The process of urbanisation and modernisation has coincided with a period of rapid economic development and political change that started after World War II and gained momentum after independence. The economic changes involved a transition from a predominantly self-sufficient agrarian society, characterised by low standards of living, to a commercial one, characterised by division of labour and higher incomes earned from light industries, commerce, services and bureaucratic activities. Although agriculture underwent several changes in techniques, there were no major institutional changes, so that it was pushed more and more to the periphery of the economic activity. The political changes involved mainly the transition from a colonial form of government to an independent administration committed to development and welfare. At the same time political divisions in

Cypriot society became more marked in the form of left wing and right wing parties, trade unions, clubs and other associations. The enormous growth of the trade unions brought increasing job security and better conditions of employment for their members.[39]

1.4 Social Values and Social Stratification

The Greek Cypriot value system focuses upon individualism on the one hand and family loyalty on the other. Writing about traditional social structures in Cyprus, Professor John Peristiany, a pioneer in Cypriot sociology, ascribed a prime role to the family:

> "The three social categories with which a Greek [from Cyprus] identifies himself most readily are the family, the community of origin and the nation ... The state is of little significance as a catalyser of values and loyalties ... The social machinery of the state, demanding passionate subservience from the people to its local representatives, is looked upon as something alien and expendable ... The family on the other hand is all important. In this social context nepotism is not considered as an antisocial action but as a moral duty."[40]

However, a certain degree of modification in the traditional importance of family relationships has come about because of demographic, economic and poilitical changes, such as urbanisation, industrialisation, and welfare provided by the state. Another change has been the decline of the large and "extended family" and the emergence of the small and "nuclear family", consisting of husband, wife and children only. Despite these changes, the family still remains the focus of social values. A person is the representative of his family and his actions reflect upon his family, siblings and extended kin. Individual dignity and self-esteem are primary factors in regulating behaviour; matters of honour and good name are often placed above all other considerations.

Social position among Greek Cypriots tends to be determined more by personal achievement than by birth. Social distinctions are based mainly upon one's job, education, accomplishments and wealth. The stress upon accomplishments means a high degree of mobility within the Greek Cypriot social structure. Everybody is regarded as capable of raising his social status through his personal achievements, and education is one of them, if not the main one. To the Greek Cypriots a good education is a coveted possession, a means of attaining a better social standing, a professional preparation for life and a valuable attribute for its own sake. In the difficult years of the past, education was perceived in even broader terms as a means of national, religious, and cultural survival.[41]

As in most other countries, the concentration of wealth, education and power in the towns has given rise to an urban upper class, composed of high governmental and political functionaries, successful professionals, and entrepreneurs. The middle class is composed of white collar workers mainly employed in the civil service, teachers, technicians, and small businessmen. Most of them are located in urban areas but some of them are located in the countryside. The lower social strata which constitute the majority of the population include the urban proletariat and the mass of the farmers.

The steady economic growth and the almost full employment conditions that prevailed for most of the time after independence helped to keep class conflict to a minimum. The social policy of the Government in the fields of health, secondary education, social insurance and pensions contributed considerably towards social stability. On the other hand, the role of the trade unions in the preservation of social order was very constructive. Probably the need to tackle the intractable political problem of the island, throughout

the period since independence, has placed social demands in second place. At the same time the expansion of the middle class has reduced the gap between the rich and the poor. Political independence offered white-collar jobs in the administrative and scientific fields to many educated Greek Cypriots who replaced the colonial administrators. The growth and bureaucratisation of private enterprise has also resulted in an increase of white-collar jobs. Thus the expansion of state and private activities resulted in an increase of the salaried middle class. This new state of affairs meant an expansion of education. Job security, good salaries and pension rights which the state and often the private sectors offered, together with the high esteem accorded to education by Cypriots, attracted more and more people to secondary and higher education.

The Turkish invasion in 1974 has resulted in a social upheaval. Forty per cent of the Greek Cypriots living in the free areas of Cyprus are refugees who have lost all their immovable property. Although a lot has been done by the Government and the people to improve the living standard of the refugees, they still constitute an important social distinction in the present stratification system.[42]

The Cypriot family has undergone certain important changes since independence, and especially since the Turkish invasion. Twenty five years ago the Cypriot family could be characterised as "autocratic" and "patriarchical".[43] Later research studies, up to 1973, suggest a less autocratic family, at a stage of transition.[44] A recent study of the Cypriot family (1980) suggests a more democratic family with much understanding of the problems of the children, but significantly enough it remains "protective". Relations between children and parents in Cyprus can be considered to be satisfactory.

Children are nowadays better educated and therefore often well equipped to reach decisions on personal matters and sometimes family matters.[45]

Beyond doubt the established mores of the older generation have received a shock from the modern notions of society and from the recent political upheaval in Cyprus, but the adaptation process has proceeded rapidly. Up to the age of 15 the young are more likely to discuss their personal problems with their parents, but after that age they are more likely to rely on their own peers. An important change has also taken place as regards sexual education in Cyprus; it is considered a necessary educative function of the family and the school. A change is also taking place as far as the choice of spouse is concerned. Whereas in the past it was a choice to be made by the parents, today the majority believe that it is a matter that concerns the young people in the first place, who will ultimately decide.

A recent study carried out by the Paedagogical Institute on the socialisation of adolescents in Cyprus (1982) suggests that the adaptation of the young people to societal expectations produces some conflicts which, nevertheless, do not lead to anti-social behaviour:

> "A considerable number of both boys and girls of the age group 17 to 18 did not agree with the traditional norms and values of the Cypriot society. They do not openly revolt or "misbehave"; on the contrary, they adjust their everyday behaviour to the societal expectations and they do internalise values and norms concerning their school-work, but they do not agree with certain basic values. This result may be considered as the basic finding of this research. It indicates that social change is in fact taking place less in changed behaviour of the young people and more in their minds. Change in opinion will gradually change behaviour and social interaction; but these changes will definitely not lead to the level of permissiveness which can be found in big European cities, because the structure of the norm-control system provides for the possibility to sanction deviant social behaviour easily...
>
> Young people in Cyprus are well adjusted to the norms of society. They work hard in school, they like the family environment, they are religious, they have ideals, they agree with the expectations of their parents and show hardly any deviant behaviour. Youth criminality is very low. Criminality

> among girls practically does not exist. They behave well at school, at home and in public. However certain traditional values are not their ideal any more."[46]

There are however, two major social problems which bedevil the Cypriot family today: the dowry system and the associated housing problem for the girls and the problem of providing tertiary education especially for the boys. Dowry is the amount of property donated to a young couple by their respective parents to give them a good start in life. This traditionally means at least a house to be given to the girl. A house or a contribution towards one, like money or a building plot, is a great asset for a daughter in a competitive bidding for a husband with optimum job prospects. The dowry system serves to direct substantial portions of income of many households towards investment in housing. The other pole of concern for most middle class parents, but of lower class too, is the education of their children. It is the general practice to educate both sons and daughters at least up to secondary school level.[47]

1.5 Drive for University Education

Secondary education is an almost universal phenomenon in Cyprus. It is free up to the age of 16 and for the years 17 to 18 it is not difficult to pay the rather low school fees in a full-employment situation where the young can work during the summer vacations. Significantly, in the school year 1981-82, 97 per cent of primary school leavers proceeded to secondary education and, according to the prevailing drop-out rate, 84 per cent of those entrants will complete the lower secondary school cycle, while 72 per cent will graduate from upper secondary school. When people speak about their aspirations to educate their children they mean at post-secondary level, at least for

their sons. Education is a prime factor for upward social mobility in Cyprus. In 1980 the proportion of secondary school leavers who proceeded to some form of tertiary education was 47 per cent, in spite the fact that Cyprus did not have a university.[48]

A major reason for this spectacular drive for university studies is the high prestige accorded by the Cypriot society to those occupations which are open to graduates. A study carried out in 1976 by the Paedagogical Institute on the choice of occupations is worth mentioning in this respect. A representative sample of fifth- and sixth-form secondary school pupils were asked to classify fifty occupations according to which one they considered as the best, the second best and so on. The findings of this study are shown in Table 1.3. Almost all occupations in the top third of the list require university education. Secondary school teachers were placed 11th on the list - not a bad place anyway - while primary school teachers were placed 23rd.[49] This list was used as a starting point for one of the surveys concerned with the reasons influencing secondary school-leavers in planning to follow teaching as a career (see Chapter 13).

Another factor which induces young Cypriots to embark on expensive overseas training, even when their job prospects in the better paid occupations are falling, is, aside from status and prestige, the relatively large monetary returns to investment in higher education. It was estimated in a recent study (1982) on the economic returns of education in Cyprus that the rate of return to one additional year of schooling, averaged over all individuals, was 12.5 per cent.[50] This is considered to be relatively high by international standards and, moveover, tends to rise with the level of education, instead of falling as it is naturally expected. The high and almost unchanged rates of return to investment in higher education, can be

TABLE 1.3 Hierarchical Classification of Occupations by Secondary School Pupils of the Fifth and Sixth Forms in 1976*

No.	Occupation	No.	Occupation
1.	Medical doctor	26.	Draughtsman
2.	Architect	27.	Tourist Agent
3.	Civil Engineer	28.	Civil Servant
4.	Senior Civil Servant	29.	Actor
5.	Business Administrator	30.	Policeman
6.	Judge	31.	Typist
7.	Lawyer	32.	Nurse
8.	Aircraft Pilot	33.	Building Contractor
9.	Journalist	34.	Photographer
10.	Psychologist	35.	Shopkeeper
11.	Secondary School Teacher	36.	Electrician
12.	Economist	37.	Printer
13.	Ship Captain	38.	Sailor
14.	Police Officer	39.	Plumber
15.	Chemist	40.	Carpenter
16.	Sociologist	41.	Farmer
17.	Factory Manager	42.	Waiter
18.	Air Host	43.	Mason
19.	Accountant	44.	Salesman
20.	Agriculturalist	45.	Painter
21.	Welfare Officer	46.	Taxi-driver
22.	Businessman	47.	Worker
23.	Primary School Teacher	48.	Barber
24.	Pharmacist	49.	Shepherd
25.	Tourist Host	50.	Dustman

*Source : Paedagogical Institute of Cyprus, File P.I./506

attributed to the better conditions of employment for graduates especially in the public sector. A clear picture of salary differentials due to education, is shown in Table 1.4., and points to the economic desirability of university education.[51]

TABLE 1.4

Average Monthly Salary by Education, in 1979*

Educational Level of Salary Earners	Average Monthly Salary (£)
Illiterate	99
Primary Education	166
Secondary Education	182
Sub-university Qualification	273
University: First Degree	334
" : Second "	405
" : Third "	448

*Source : Republic of Cyprus, Profiles of Earnings in Cyprus, 1979, p.5.

The public sector, made up of government departments and parastatal authorities employs 24 per cent of the total of those employed in non-agricultural occupations. Employment in the public sector is most desirable as discerned from the very large number of applicants, at all levels, for any given vacancy. In the public sector greater stress is placed on credentials; individuals are often rewarded and promoted on the strength of their academic qualifications and their employment is marked by formalised incremental scales and promotion ladders. Public sector employees enjoy better fringe benefits, such

as free medical care and generous pensions, which are not universal in the private sector, and employment security has traditionally been granted to them to avoid political influence and patronage. Another feature that makes the public sector keep its wage level almost immune to the market forces of supply and demand is its high extent of professionalisation and unionisation. The private sector responds more readily to the oversupply of graduates by lowering the salaries paid to new entrants to the labour force. But the public sector is the largest employer of the more educated, engaging 60 per cent of all professional and managerial workers and, because of its pay structure, plays the role of wage leader and wage setter in the market for high-level manpower. It has been estimated that a 42-year old male graduate in the public sector could expect to earn 46 per cent more, on average, than his counterpart in the private sector; for females the differential is estimated to be 109 per cent.[52]

The high social status and prestige accorded to university education and the relatively high monetary returns from investment in education led during the last decade or so to a relatively large increase in university graduates. As supply has outstripped demand it has become increasingly difficult for the small-island economy of Cyprus to absorb all those graduates returning from higher studies overseas in jobs requiring university training. One solution has been graduate emigration. But, with a similar problem in the receiving countries, this can no longer solve the problem, besides being socially and economically the worst way out. In fact the oversupply of university graduates is leading more secondary school leavers to seek university edcuation. As supply outstrips demand some university graduates lower their aspirations for the best jobs in terms of prestige, pay and other working conditions, in the light of long

periods of unemployment and their individual financial circumstances. A proportion of them filter down into jobs formerly held by people with sub-degree qualifications. This in turn forces those with sub-degree qualifications into jobs further down the occupational ladder. The net result of this filtering down process is that secondary school leavers are increasingly excluded from professional occupations and tend to seek for themselves better credentials through university studies overseas, thereby aggravating the employment situation further.

Graduate unemployment has had a serious influence on teacher education. The increasing tendency to seek university training abroad has resulted in an oversupply of graduates who may more readily become applicants for secondary school teaching posts. This would have resulted in recruiting better secondary teachers were there a proper selection on entry. In fact no selection is made except within a year's output of candidates. According to the statutory requirements relating to appointments of teachers, the applicants in a given year are graded according to their qualifications and other relevant criteria and they are placed on a list of appointees.[53] The following year's applicants are also graded and are placed on the list, at the end of the previous year's group of applicants. In this way the best applicant of a given year is placed after the worst applicant of the previous year. Appointments are made from this waiting list in strict order. This system of appointment was introduced since 1972, after intense union pressure, in order to curb nepotism. The waiting list of applicants to be appointed as secondary school teachers has mushroomed in the last ten years or so to the extent that there are more than twice as many applicants on the waiting list than there are secondary school teachers in the schools of the island. People have to wait from five to ten years, according to their specialisation, for their turn to

be appointed. In such a situation a refresher course might be needed for the new entrants, especially if they have in the meantime taken up a job, not related to their qualifications.

Other branches of the public sector, that is other government departments and parastatal authorities, do not follow the procedure of the waiting list, but they advertise anew each time a vacancy occurs; thus they are in a position to cream off the best graduates. This can happen for such specialisations as engineering, economics, accounting,and science, but to a much lesser extent for foreign languages, arts, and literary subjects. Salaries have, since 1981, been set at about the same level on entry to any branch of the public sector and openings for promotion are worse in the educational sector. Further, the private sector creams off another part of graduates; they are likely to stay in the private sector after being employed in it for five to ten years, and probably attained some seniority, before their turn comes for appointment as secondary school teachers. The net result is that probably the less able graduates are left to be appointed as secondary school teachers. It is one of the aims of this thesis to examine this hypothesis (see Chapter 13).

In contrast, graduate unemployment and relatively good salaries in primary education induce many good secondary school leavers to seek to qualify as kindergarten and primary school teachers. They can compete to enter the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus where they receive free tuition and a maintenance grant. Since entrance to the Academy is restricted according to the projected needs of primary schools they are likely to be appointed on graduation. This situation raises the academic calibre of applicants who aspire to become kindergarten or primary school teachers and is clearly a welcome development as far as teacher education is concerned.

It has been stated earlier that the public sector offers better salaries than the private sector and especially so to women. In fact the wage structure in the public sector is the same for both sexes. The difference arises in that women are more likely to be discriminated against in the private sector.[54] Hence more women are likely to try to enter the public sector of employment, including education; this leads to a feminisation of the teaching profession. Also women graduates are less likely to emigrate on graduation, but will probably wait longer for their turn to come, according to the waiting list of secondary school appointees. This again increases the feminisation of the profession. According to a Manpower Survey conducted in 1979, 39 per cent of the total gainfully employed population was female. But they concentrated in three major sectors: Paramedical, where they formed 69 per cent of that sector; clerical, where they formed 46 per cent; and the teaching sector, where their share was 45 per cent.[55] The place of women in the Cypriot society has improved considerably since independence, and the diffusion of secondary education to all sections of the population has contributed significantly to this improvement. According to a recent study (1982), the emancipation of the Cypriot woman is now at a "transitional stage", although there are certain marked differences depending on age, education, social background and ability to earn a living.[56]

The enormous increase of educated people, especially since independence, made the skills of teachers no longer mysterious and scarce. In addition graduate unemployment has contributed to the decrease of the average market value of education. These are two of the most obvious reasons for which the social prestige of the teachers has gradually declined. Yet, in this frenzy for education, the intellectual climate in Cyprus is barren. Cypriots returning from

studies abroad find that it is soon very difficult to maintain parity with members of their profession that they left behind. Some professional associations have sprung up, but Cyprus offers no opportunities for intellectual growth within the island. Limited financial resources and the preoccupation with the intractable political problem of Cyprus do not permit the support of extensive research and the creation of a climate for intellectual exchange and renewal. Many people are pressing for the establishment of a University which could serve as a focus for such activities; but although plans have been drawn and preliminary decisions have been taken about its establishment, it has not yet materialised.

PART ONE

HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION AND PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF TEACHERS IN CYPRYS (1830-1960)

CHAPTER 2

A BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF CYPRUS UP TO INDEPENDENCE (1960)

Cyprus is the third largest island in the Mediterranean Sea. But her history has been shaped not so much by her dimensions as by her unique geopolitical position. Her situation "at the crossroads" of Europe, Asia and Africa together with her physical features and her limited defence resources, have often made her a natural target of merchants, colonists and invaders and of all those who fought for supremacy in the area of the Eastern Mediterranean.[1*]

Sir George Hill, the leading historian of Cyprus, introduces the subject of his scholarly four-volume work "A History of Cyprus" in the following way:

> "Soon after the British occupation of Cyprus in 1878, a German archaeologist wrote: 'He who would become and remain a great power in the East must hold Cyprus in his hands. That this is true is proved by the history of the world during the last three and a half millenia, from the time of Thutmes III of Egypt to the days of Queen Victoria.' Since he wrote this [pronouncement], nothing has happened on land, on the sea or in the air to lessen the force of his words."[2]

Despite the many storms that time and again have rocked the island, her history is one of remarkable constancy and continuity. This must be attributed to the persistence of the Cypriots, the tragic victims of the clashes of mighty forces that have swept over their homeland - persistence in customs, beliefs and national attachment, though they have at times assimilated but transformed mainland influences.[3]

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* Notes and references to this chapter start on page 852.

2.1 Ancient Times

Recent archaeological research, assisted by carbon-14 radium measurements on human remains, dates the earliest settlements of Cyprus from the sixth millenium B.C.[4] During those times the people of Cyprus - the "Eteocyprians" - lived in circular houses usually in riverside settlements.[5]

The discovery and use of copper in the third millenium B.C. was the cause of a remarkable change in the island. The rich deposits of copper in Cyprus attracted many immigrants from neighbouring countries. In the middle of the second millenium B.C. substantial numbers of Mycenaean Greeks, spreading from Peloponesus eastwards, began to arrive and settle in the island; Dorian Greeks followed, especially after the Trojan War. In fact the flow of Greek settlers was such that the ethnic character of the population of Cyprus changed drastically in favour of the newcomers. They brought with them their customs and their political system of the city-kingdoms. These royal dynasties survived for a long time and, even under foreign domination, they continued to enjoy freedom in their domestic affairs.[6] Five centuries later the Phoenicians, moving from Syria, came to Cyprus first as traders then as permanent settlers.[7]

In this way three racial groups were found during antiquity in Cyprus: the Eteocyprians, who were the original inhabitants, the Greeks and the Phoenicians. A long struggle for racial and political domination went on for many centuries, until the complete victory of the Greek element over the other two gave the island its essentially Greek character. But the bitter antagonism between the Greeks and the Phoenicians offered an excellent chance for the strong powers around Cyprus to interfere in the affairs of the island.

Cyprus was occupied by the Assyrians in the seventh century B.C. and by the Egyptians in the sixth century. After the collapse of the Egyptian Empire, in 525 B.C., Cyprus was incorporated into the Persian Empire. The position of the Kings of Cyprus under those conquerors was that of semi-independence. Their royal status was recognised, they could keep an army of their own, but they were obliged to pay a "tribute" to the Kings of the conquerors and supply them with soldiers and ships in their expeditions.

In 499 B.C. the Cypriots, under the leadership of Onesilos, King of Salamis, and in alliance with the Greeks of Ionia (in Asia Minor) revolted against the Persians. After some early successes, the revolt failed in both countries. Some hundred years later Evagoras, King of Salamis, was more successful in his attempts to overthrow the Persians. But he was finally beaten by them.[8]

Alexander the Great put an end to the Persian Rule over Cyprus in 333 B.C. In fact the Kings of Cyprus assisted Alexander at the seige of Tyre, and Cypriot volunteers followed him in his Asian expedition. On the death of Alexander, in 323 B.C., and the division of his dominions among his generals, Cyprus became a bone of contention between Antigonus, King of Asia Minor and Syria, and Ptolemy, King of Egypt. After a protracted war between these two contenders, Cyprus finally came under the rule of Ptolemy and remained under the domination of the Kingdom of Egypt for more than 250 years. The Ptolemies abolished the city-states of Cyprus and established administrative unification by means of quasi-military control. They appointed a General who was both the chief of the armed forces and the civil administrator. During those 250 years of Ptolemaic rule the island enjoyed a period of comparative peace and prosperity.

It was hardly to be expected, however, that Cyprus could

remain indefinitely outside the boundaries of the then rising imperial power of Rome. In 58 B.C. the island was conquered by Cato and annexed to the Roman Empire. Christianity was introduced into Cyprus as early as A.D. 45 by St. Paul and St. Barnabas, a native of Salamis.[9] St. Barnabas has in fact suffered martyrdom in his native town. In A.D. 395 the Roman Empire was, for administrative reasons, divided into East and West, and Cyprus became part of the Eastern Roman Empire, which came to be known as the Byzantine Empire.

2.2 Byzantine Times

Cyprus received special attention by the Byzantine Emperors. The Church of Cyprus was recognised as autonomous, and imperial privileges were granted to the Archbishop of the island: to hold a sceptre, to wear a purple mantle, and to sign his name in red ink.[10] For the first three hundred years of Byzantine administration the inhabitants of Cyprus lived in conditions of peace and relative prosperity, till the rise of Islam as a world power.

From A.D. 648 to 965, that is for over 300 years, Cyprus was ravaged by recurrent raids of the Arab fleets of Egypt and Syria.[11] Cyprus was invaded by the moslem forces, her churches were destroyed, thousands of inhabitants were massacred or sold as slaves, and the remaining population was subjected to most oppressive taxation. In A.D. 691 Emperor Justinian, unable to offer any security to the Cypriots, decided to uproot them in order to settle them near the town of Cyzicus in Asia Minor, where he built Nova Justiniana for that purpose. Seven years later the Cypriot "emigres" were repatriated, but the Archbishop of Cyprus has since then acquired the title of "Archbishop of Nova Justiniana and of all Cyprus.[12] It is difficult to

visualise the situation of Cyprus during those disturbed times (A.D. 648 to 965). To all intents and purposes the island was no-man's land, between the two warring worlds of Byzantium and Islam. She was not effectively controlled by either, but taxes, wherever possible, were collected by both.[13]

Byzantine rule was firmly re-established in A.D. 965, and the island remained under Byzantine control for another two hundred years. Some governors of Cyprus, however, tried to profit from the weakening of the Empire by declaring themselves independent rulers of the island. Two such revolts failed, but that of Isaac Comnenos, staged in A.D. 1185, was successful. The Byzantine fleet sent by the Emperor to subdue Comnenos was defeated, and that marked the end of the Byzantine rule over the island.[14]

2.3 Frankish Rule (1192 to 1571)

Isaac Comnenos remained absolute master of the island for some years, until he was swept away by Richard the Lion Heart, King of England. Saladin, Sultan of Egypt, had occupied Jerusalem in A.D. 1187 and took the King of Jerusalem, Guy de Lusignan, prisoner. To reverse the situation the West organised the Third Crusade. The Emperor of Germany, the King of France, and the King of England took part in that effort. The King of England followed the sea route to the Holy Lands. Accompanying his fleet were his affianced bride Berengaria of Navarre and his sister Joanna. But the storms blew them off course, two of their ships were wrecked, and Berengaria's craft anchored off Limassol while Richard was still on his way. As Isaac had given orders that no crusader would be allowed to set foot on the island, the survivors of the wreckage were badly treated. Richard landed with a strong force in

Limassol and tried to win Isaac over to his cause. Isaac attacked Richard's forces instead, but he was defeated and fled to the interior of the island. Richard then married Berengaria in the castle of Limassol. In the meantime the ex-king of Jerusalem, Guy de Lusignan, had been freed from captivity and joined Richard in Cyprus. Together they marched Richard's army against Isaac and captured the whole of the island.[15]

King Richard found that Cyprus was an uneasy burden; the garrisons he had left in towns and castles were unable to control the countryside. Being in need of money to continue his crusade, he sold the island to the Knight Templars for 10,000 gold dinars (£320,000).[16] They were, however, unable to hold Cyprus by force and resold her to the ex-king of Jerusalem, Guy de Lusignan, at the same price.

The royal dynasty of the Lusignans ruled the island for three centuries (A.D. 1192 to 1489). Guy managed to pacify the native population by persuading them that they had nothing to fear under his administration. At the same time he let it be known in the Levant that he would grant fiefs and lands to all those who were willing to settle in Cyprus and assist him in the administration of the country. Many knights, crusaders, and foreign traders, flocked to the island. They settled in Cyprus, taking over the wealth and the economic administration of the island, and established a new ruling class bound together by religion, culture, and common interests.

The highest authority in the new Kingdom was the "Haute Cour" or Assembly of Barons.[17] It had legislative, judiciary and executive powers and was presided over by the King. The country was ruled on feudal lines and the entire local population was reduced to the state of tenant farmers or serfs. With a catholic ruling class, the Pope issued in A.D. 1260 an edict on the constitution of the

Cypriot Church, the "Bulla Cypria".[18] By this edict the Greek bishops were placed under the supervision of the Latin Archbishop of Cyprus and ordered to reside in villages assigned to them; it was also laid down that they should, upon election, swear obedience to the Latin Church and defend and maintain its supremacy. But the drive towards latinization aroused the defiance of both the Greek clergy and the Greek people, and had no lasting effect.

From the time of the Lusignan occupation the history of Cyprus is split into two: that of the rulers and that of the subjects. Two currents are apparent; that of the dominant caste which carries with it the record of government, and that of the Cypriot people which follows its own distinct course, sometimes smooth but usually rough and tortuous. The two currents, carrying different sets of culture never coalesce into one stream, but rather diverge into alien rulers and Greek subjects. According to Ronald Storrs, the Frankish period was a "brilliant epoch" for the ruling class.[19] But this was due primarily to the fact that, for the first time after twelve centuries, the tribute gathered from the island was not sent to Rome or Constantinople. It was left in the island "enriching the foreign nobles, knights and merchants, who settled there, but remained a caste separate from, and living on the people".[20]

The constant ambition of the Lusignans was to recover the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and countless but unsuccessful attempts were made to this end. This helped to accelerate the decline of the Lusignan dynasty. On the other hand, the great importance of Cyprus for the trade between Europe and the East attracted the attention and rivalry of the two great maritime powers of those times - the Genoese and the Venetians. The Genoese invaded the island in 1373 and occupied the port town of Famagusta, which they held for nearly ninety years. In

the feuds and family rivalries that followed, the Genoese were finally driven out of Famagusta, with the assistance of the Venetians. These conditions gave the Venetians the opportunity to secure advantages. They procured by proxy the marriage of King James II to Catherine Cornaro, a Venetian of noble family. When the King died, Catherine succeeded him to the throne. Leaving no heir, she was persuaded, or rather forced, to hand the island to the Republic of Venice in 1489.[21]

The Venetian occupation lasted from A.D. 1489 to 1571. The social and political structure remained essentially unchanged, save that instead of a King there was now a salaried Venetian Governor. To the Cypriot people the change from Lusignan to Venetian control made little difference. The majority of them were still serfs to the foreign nobles and devoid of any rights whatsoever. The value of Cyprus to Venice was military and commercial. They perceived the danger from the rising Ottoman Empire and strongly fortified the three main towns of Nicosia, Famagusta, and Kyrenia. In 1570-71 the Turks attacked and conquered the island.[22]

2.4 Turkish Rule (1571 to 1878)

The occupation of Cyprus by the Turks brought about radical changes. The war of 1570-71, between the Turks and the Venetians, swept away both the Venetian regime and the Latin community of Cyprus. Many of them were killed and most of the rest emigrated. A census taken just after the Turkish Occupation showed the Greeks of Cyprus to number about 150,000. A Turkish garrison of 30,000 remained in Cyprus, and from them sprang the Turkish population of the island - a completely new factor in the history of Cyprus.[23] The feudal system was abolished, and the serfs were freed and allowed to buy and own

land. The Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus became the only Christian Church in Cyprus recognised by the Turks, while the property of the Latin Church was confiscated. An Orthodox Archbishop was soon elected by the Greek people of the island and enthroned in Nicosia.[24]

The island was governed by a "Pasha", i.e. Governor, assisted by several subordinates and area officials. For taxation purposes the community was divided into two categories: the "mohammedans" and the "rayahs"; the "mohammedans" were the Turkish officials, soldiers and settlers, and the "rayahs" were the non-mohammedan subjects, all liable to capitation tax. In addition to the capitation tax they had to pay land taxes, taxes on salt, customs duties, tithes on agricultural produce, and so on.[25] These taxes were "farmed out", i.e. auctioned off, and the highest bidder would acquire the right to collect the revenue; he expected of course to make a good profit.[26] Although the "Porte", i.e. the Administration in mainland Turkey, originally showed good intentions towards the island, they were nullified by the system of "farming out taxes", and by the local Turkish administrators who were neither honest nor efficient. This misrule was the main reason for the decay and impoverishment of the people during the first two centuries of the Turkish Occupation. Many of them sought salvation through emigration.[27]

With time, the situation became desperate for the Greek population. In an effort to curb the rapacity of her own officials, by putting them under the restraint of knowing that their excesses would be reported, the "Porte" recognised the Archbishop and his three Bishops as "representatives and spokesmen of the Greek Cypriots".[28] In this way the Archbishop could send petitions under his own seal directly to the "Porte". This policy started in 1660, but in 1754 it was made official. In that year the "Grand Vezir", i.e. the Turkish

Prime Minster, issued a "firman", i.e. circular, appointing the Archbishop and the bishops "official representatives and supervisors of the people", with direct access to the "Porte".[29] This was a double-edged privilege. The Church leaders had acquired an official status and could fight more effectively for their people, but they also became directly responsible for the collection of taxes and indirectly for the maintenance of law and order. To avoid entering into the details of taxation, the Archbishops used to delegate some of their powers to a "Dragoman", i.e. Interpreter, who thereby became "the chief civil authority in Cyprus".[30]

Inevitably the growing authority of the Archbishop and the power of the "Dragoman" provoked the hostility of the local Turkish officials in Cyprus. The Greek Revolution of 1821, in mainland Greece, provided a good opportunity for them to curb the power of the Archbishop. The Greek Revolution was a well-thought out and organised national insurrection. For some years before its eruption, the Greek "Philikē Hetaereia", a secret revolutionary society, carried out systematic propaganda among the Greeks, inside and outside Greece, preparing them for revolt. Representatives of the "Philikē Hetaereia" approached the then Archbishop of Cyprus, Kyprianos, who enrolled in the revolutionary society and "promised pecuniary and moral support".[31] Revolutionary literature was later distributed in Larnaca and the Turkish officials became suspicious. The Governor, Kuchuck Mehmet, reported to the "Porte", urging that troops should be sent to forestall expected troubles, and recommending the execution of all leading Christians in the island, from the Archbishop downwards. The Sultan sent troops to the island but did not approve of the wholesale executions suggested. But Kuchuck insisted on the execution of leading Christians, and forwarded a proscription list of 486 names of Cypriots

who were "wealthy and influential".[32] Alarmed by the progress of the uprising in Greece, the Sultan approved the execution of those on the proscription list and the confiscation of their property. The proscribed, among them Archbishop Kyprianos and all the Bishops, were rounded up and brought to the capital, where they were hanged or decapitated. A climate of terror prevailed in Cyprus.[33]

In 1856, after the Crimean War between Russia and Turkey, some reforms were promulgated and they relieved the situation to a certain extent. A Central Administrative Council, the "Medjlis Idare", was set up and became the highest civil and criminal tribunal that dealt with financial, administrative and judicial questions. It was presided over by the Turkish Governor and included nine Turkish officials and three Greek representatives, elected by the people. But these reforms came too late to be of any real effect. In the eyes of the Greek people of Cyprus the Turks assumed the role of the common enemy and the Orthodox Church of Cyprus became the symbol of frustrated Greek nationalism. This nationalism was also promoted through the opening of Greek schools. Primary schools were established in a great number of villages and secondary ones in some towns. This achievement is most remarkable in that it was due entirely to the Orthodox Church and to private initiative.[34]

2.5 British Administration (1878 to 1960)

By the middle of the nineteenth century the Ottoman Empire, exhausted by recurring wars against the Russians, showed those signs of decay that caused her to be known in European diplomacy as "the sick man of Europe", and the division of her dominions as "the Eastern Question". Ottoman power was at a low ebb, and Russian policy was

attempting to fill the power vacuum by expanding west and south, towards the Straits of Dardanelles. In 1877 Russia declared another war on Turkey and forced her to sign another humiliating treaty, the Treaty of San Stefano. The European powers, however, refused to accept that treaty, because it gave the Russians virtual control of the Dardanelles. Eventually those matters were discussed and settled at a six-power conference, culminating in the Treaty of Berlin in 1878. On 4th June, 1878, while the Berlin Conference was still sitting, a "Convention of Defensive Alliance" was secretly concluded in Constantinople between Great Britain and the Ottoman Empire. According to this convention, which came to be known as "the Cyprus Convention", England undertook to rally to the defence of Turkey "by force of arms", if any future attempts were made by Russia to take possession of any further territories of the Sultan. In return he consented "to assign the island of Cyprus to be occupied and administered by England".[35]

By an annex to the Cyprus Convention, signed almost a month later, Britain undertook to pay to the "Porte" whatever was at that time "the excess of revenue over expenditure in the island, this excess being calculated upon and determined by the average of the last five years".[36] That amount was later calculated to be £92,800 and came to be known as the "Cyprus Tribute". After 700 years Great Britain "bought" Cyprus back; but it was the Cypriots who were paying the price, as an annual "tribute".

2.5.1 The Period 1878 to 1931

The occupation of Cyprus was related to strategic and imperial considerations of the British Government. It was in line with the general policy of dominating the Mediterranean in order to prevent

Russian access to the Straits of Dardanelles and to control the Suez Canal so as to protect the route to India. From 1878 to 1914 the island, while nominally Ottoman territory, and while its inhabitants remained Ottoman subjects, was administered by Britain. The island was "assigned" to Britain, through the Cyprus Convention of 1878, but became de facto a British possession. In 1914, when Turkey entered the war on the side of Germany, Britain denounced the Cyprus Convention of 1878 and annexed the island to the British Crown. In 1923 Turkey recognised the annexation of Cyprus to the British Crown, through the Treaty of Lussane (Article 20). In 1925 Cyprus was proclaimed a Crown Colony and the office of the "High Commissioner of Cyprus" was renamed "Governor of the Colony of Cyprus".[37]

The Greek population of Cyprus welcomed the arrival of the British. Britain was a democratic country but also a friendly power to the Greek State, to which fifteen years earlier (1863) she had ceded the Ionian Islands. Tax farming was abolished and a more equitable system of taxation was introduced. Efforts were also made to improve education and agriculture and the relative freedom of speech permitted by the new masters enabled the people to air their views and grievances openly. All these good intentions, however, were hampered by a lack of money. The economy of the island had to maintain an efficient but expensive British administration and to meet the responsibility of the "Cyprus Tribute".

In 1881 the British Government sent to Cyprus an official of the Colonial Office, E. Fairfield, to report on the conditions of the island. An exhaustive report was submitted next year by Fairfield, dealing with the administration and financial situation of the country.[38] That report formed the basis of a number of administrative and other reforms which were subsequently introduced into the island.

One of those reforms was the granting of a Constitution which provided for a Legislative Council. The Legislative Council was presided by the High Commissioner, and consisted of six other "official" members, appointed by the Sovereign, and twelve "elected" members. The seats of the twelve "elected" members were apportioned according to the ratio of the population, that is nine Greeks and three Turks; ultimate power to legislate by "Order-in-Council" was reserved to the Crown.[39] But on the question of economics, the policy suggested by Fairfield was one of contracting out of the obligation to develop the country.[40] Probably the very fact that the island was, according to the Cyprus Convention, simply assigned to England to be administered by her, did not encourage long-term planning or investment.

From the very beginning, the British Official Members and the Turkish Elected Members of the Legislative Council entered into a parliamentary alliance. This was possible for three main reasons. The Greeks, who openly demanded "enosis", i.e. union with Greece, were not considered as loyal partners by the British Officials; the Turks, being only the recently deposed masters, felt more affinity towards the new rulers, to whom Cyprus was assigned to be occupied and administered, probably on a temporary basis; finally the wider struggle of Hellenism against the contracting Ottoman Empire coloured the political feelings of the Cypriots and kept them divided. In this way the "Anglo-Turkish front" was occupying the Government benches and the "Greek front" was most of the time in opposition. Whatever happened the Anglo-Turkish front was certain of having its own way, either by parliamentary majority of 10 to 9, or by an Order-in-Council. For the Greeks, this "toy parliament" led to parliamentary frustration.[41] When the then Colonial Secretary Sir Winston Churchill visited Cyprus in 1907, the Greek Elected Members of the Legislative Council submitted a memorandum

to him, demanding that "the Legislative Council should consist exclusively of Elected Members in proportion to the population of the two predominant races in the island".[42] The proposal was rejected by Churchill; subsequent demands to the same effect were always turned down by successive British governments. The British feared that constitutional advance would strengthen the movement for "enosis", i.e. union with Greece, and give to the Greek Elected Members of the Council complete control over the finances of the island, especially over the thorny question of the "tribute".

The "tribute" was by far the greatest cause of economic malaise and a perpetual grievance of the Cypriots. It was "the excess of revenue over expenditure" to be paid to Turkey according to the Cyprus Convention. Sir Charles Orr, at one time Chief Secretary to the Colonial Government, criticises this exaction in his book "Cyprus under British Rule" in the following way:

> "Not a penny of this so-called "tribute" has been paid to the Ottoman Government and, in point of fact, it never reaches Constantinople at all. It is utilised to pay the shareholders of the Ottoman Loan of 1855, which is guaranteed by England and France, and amounts to £3,815,200. The interest on this loan is £81,752 and the surplus from the Cyprus Tribute which remains every year after the debt charge has been satisfied is invested in Consols, and forms a separate fund, from which sums have actually been deducted in the past to pay the ransom of British subjects captured by brigands in Ottoman territory ... It may be doubted whether there is any other instance in British colonial history of a similar arrangement, and it is certainly contrary to preconceived notions ...
>
> The drain imposed on the revenue by this enormous annual payment of £92,800 has paralysed progress, and left barely sufficient funds to keep the administrative machinery in working order, whilst allowing little for such vital purposes as education, road construction, agriculture and reafforestation ... In these circumstances it can hardly be a matter of surprise that the payment of this "tribute" from Cyprus revenue has been a subject of burning dissatisfaction amongst Cypriot people ever since the Occupation."[43]

The Greek Elected Members of the Legislative Council

constantly demanded that Cyprus be relieved from the burden of the "tribute", and when Sir Winston Chrchill, then Colonial Secretary, visited Cyprus in 1907 stressed this grievance in a memorandum presented to him. Churchill was sympathetic to this demand. On returning home, he persuaded the British Government to agree to make to Cyprus an annual grant-in-aid of £50,000. But the Greek Elected Members of the Legislative Council, as well as the public, continued to complain because this grant was used mostly to improve the salaries of the British administrators in Cyprus and did not result in any reduction of taxes.[44]

In this way the two major issues in Cypriot politics for the first fifty years of the British Occupation of Cyprus were the demand for proportional representation and the burden of the "tribute". Behind the demand for proportional representation was the national aspiration for "enosis", i.e. union with Greece. In the critical period of 1925 to 1931, Sir Ronald Storrs was appointed governor of Cyprus. He was one of the most cultured governors of Cyprus and showed great interest in the affairs of the island. Under his governorship rural conditions were examined in a scientific and comprehensive way, and that terrible indictment of poverty, "A Survey of Rural Life in Cyprus", was produced.[45] But he desired to turn the island willy-nilly into a loyal dependency. It was too late; the previous fifty years of laissez-faire policy were leading to political frustration.[46]

In 1926, after Cyprus was formally declared a Crown Colony, the Legislative Council passed a resolution that all amounts paid as "tribute" over the years (amounting to about £2,600,000) should be refunded to Cyprus, and used for the establishment of an Agricultural Bank.[47] The demand was rejected by the British Government. In the following year Sir Winston Churchill, who was then Chancellor of the

Exchequer, relieved the island of the burden of the "tribute" by increasing the annual grant-in-aid to cover the yearly amount of the "tribute". However, the Cypriots were not placated; they pressed on for a refund of at least that part of the payment in tribute that was used as ransom money and the excess in tribute over grants-in-aid that had been paid since 1914 when Cyprus was annexed to the Crown, amounting to a total of about £1,000,000.[48] This demand was also rejected by the British Government. In 1930 when a Labour Government was elected in Britain, high hopes were entertained in Cyprus. The Greek Elected Members of the Legislative Council submitted a new memorandum to the new Government repeating their demands for proportional representation and for the refund of the tribute money of £1,000,000. The Labour Government rejected both demands and the Chancellor of the Exchequer explained in Parliament, in July 1931, that no money could be refunded.[49] This statement was soon followed by a bill, which was turned down by the Legislative Council but enacted by Order-in-Council, that increased taxation in order to meet the deficit due to the trade depression of that year.[50]

2.5.2 The Period 1931 to 1960

The cumulative effect of these actions was intense dismay and discontent in Cyprus. The Greek Elected Members of the Legislative Council resigned on 20th October,1931, soon after the new taxation was imposed by Order-in-Council. Their resignation sparked off anti-government demonstrations; the Government House in Nicosia was burned, some civilians were killed and others injured. Britain reacted with strict measures. Troops were dispatched to the island; ten Cypriots, including two Bishops who were directly implicated in the riots, were

deported and 2,000 people were imprisoned. The Constitution and all elected bodies, including the Legislative Council, were abolished.[51]

Repression followed in all walks of life. Political activity was driven underground but did not cease; it was transformed into a multitude of forms, including cultural and educational associations.[52] In 1934 the island faced extreme economic problems bordering on famine. The British Government sent an economic commissioner, Sir Ralph Oakden, to report on the "Finances and Economic Resources of Cyprus".[53] His report formed the basis for future action, including education. In 1946 a "Ten-year Programme for Economic Development of Cyprus" was drawn up.[54] But on the political issue the official approach remained stubbornly negative and the situation deteriorated, especially after World War II. In that war 30,000 Cypriots volunteered and fought side by side with the British, in Africa and Greece. The war affected the outlook of the people, and they sought to assert themselves both socially and nationally. Freedom of expression was established and the people formed political parties.[55] In 1948 an offer for a Constitution was rejected by the Greek Cypriots; their demand was then "enosis and only enosis".[56]

In December 1949 Archbishop Makarios II issued an "encyclical" calling upon the Greek Cypriots to take part in a national plebiscite, on the question of "enosis", to be organised by the Church in the following month. The reported results showed that 96 per cent of the Greek Cypriots were in favour of "enosis". Makarios II died soon afterwards and Makarios III, the future President of the Cyprus Republic, was elected Archbishop. The plebiscite also acted as a stimulant for Greece herself, so as to take a more active role in the Cypriot affairs. Makarios III became the steering mind behind the "enosis" movement.[57]

In July 1954 the Cyprus question precipitated into a crisis. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Hopkinson, replying to a question on Cyprus in the House of Commons declared that,

> "there are certain territories in the Commonwealth which, owing to their particular circumstances, can never expect to be fully independent".[58]

This attitude left no alternative to the Greek Cypriots than the pursuance of armed revolt. On 1st April, 1955, the guerilla organisation "Ethnikē Organōsis Kypriōn Agonistōn - EOKA" (National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters), under the leadership of Colonel George Grivas started a violent four-year struggle. The Colonial Government retaliated by using all forms of repressive measures. Makarios was deported to Seychelles in 1956. He was later freed in order to negotiate a solution to the Cyprus problem.[59]

At British invitation, a conference known as "The Tripartite Conference of 1955", with government representation from Britain, Greece and Turkey, was convened in London on 29th August to discuss the Cyprus problem. It broke up in disagreement, but marked the official entry of the Turkish Government as a participant rather than as an observer in the Cyprus problem. In 1958 this interest precipitated clashes between the Greeks and the Turks in the island, the Greeks demanding "enosis", i.e. union with Greece, and the Turks "taksim", i.e. partition of Cyprus. In December 1958 Greece and Turkey reached a compromise solution and signed the "Zurich Agreement"; it was later ratified by all those concerned through the "London Agreement" of 19th February, 1959. Reluctantly, the Cypriots established an independent state, in the Constitution of which both "enosis" and "taksim" were expressly prohibited. The structure of the Cypriot administration was made strongly bicommunal, in order to protect the Turkish minority. A

Cypriot state came into being, but not a Cypriot nation.[60]

The long periods of servitude have left some important marks on the Greek Cypriots. Firstly a strong sense of insecurity and secondly a deep attachment to the only institution with which they could identify themselves, the Greek Orthodox Church. Being a basically conservative institution, the Church instilled this conservatism in the Cypriot society. It is instructive to keep these parameters in mind when examining the education and professional status of teachers in Cyprus.

CHAPTER 3

THE PERIOD BEFORE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FIRST NORMAL SCHOOL IN CYPRUS (1893)

The historical outline in the previous chapter highlights the fact that a succession of colonists and conquerors have occupied Cyprus in order to serve their strategic and economic interests. These colonists, invaders and masters have all left their mark on Cyprus. But the Greek colonists of the island (in the second millenium B.C.) were those who gave Cyprus its essentially Greek character, while the Byzantine period (A.D. 395 to 1191) provided a continuation of the Greek influence in Cyprus. The Byzantine Empire included within its boundaries both Greece and Cyprus, and thus a kind of cultural union between the two countries was maintained for eight centuries. Although Cyprus followed a different historical destiny after the Third Crusade, the Byzantine legacy continued, and any major cultural movement in mainland Greece had its corresponding impact on Cyprus. This impact was most pronounced after the Greek Revolution against the Ottoman Empire in 1821. The Greek Cypriots managed to preserve their character as a people distinct from their rulers by preserving their Greek language and their Greek Orthodox religion and by modelling their educational institutions on those of Greece.

3.1 The Autocephalous Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus

The Byzantine period, besides providing a continuation of Greek influence in the form of cultural union, is important in another

respect. In A.D. 488 the "autocephaly" or independence of the Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus was recognised. In that year the Archbishop of Cyprus, Anthemios, claimed that he had seen a vision in which he was directed by St. Barnabas, the patron saint of Cyprus, to his tomb under a tree outside the town of Salamis. Acting according to this revelation, Anthemios discovered in the tomb the remains of St. Barnabas, together with a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel in St. Barnabas' own handwriting. He presented these relics to the Byzantine Emperor Zeno and asked for recognition of ecclesiastical independence. At the Emperor's request, the Oecumenical Patriarch summoned his Synod and, despite the well-known objections of the Patriarch of Antioch, the Church of Cyprus was recognised unequivocally as apostolic and autocephalous. The Emperor himself,

> "to mark his sense of the importance attached to the discovery, conferred upon the Cypriot primates certain privileges, which they have most jealously guarded ever since. Among others they received the right of signing in red ink, a mark of distinction only otherwise enjoyed by the Emperors, wearing a purple cloak at the festivals of the Church, and carrying an imperial sceptre in place of the ordinary pastoral staff".[1*]

"These privileges," writes Sir George Hill, "expressing recognition of temporal authority have had frequent repercussions down to the present day".[2] During the long years of foreign domination the Church leaders, endowed with ecclesiastical and civil authority, "behaved not only as religious but also as political leaders of the people".[3] At the same time the people themselves, stripped of any political power, came to look upon their Church as their leader and to cherish it fondly as an institution. In this way the Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus became the sole institution in Cyprus for religious and political representation and, as will be apparent in the following

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* Notes and references to this chapter start on page 855.

chapters, used education as one of the means to preserve them.[4]

During the Frankish Occupation (1192-1571) the new rulers recognised the Catholic Church as the church of the state and persecuted the Orthodox Church; but the Orthodox Church managed to survive. The conquest of Cyprus by the Turks in 1571 swept away everything Frankish, including the Catholic Church. From the very beginning of the Turkish Occupation, the Greek Orthodox Church was recognised as the church of the "rayahs", i.e. of the non-mohamedan subjects, and the bishops assumed ecclesiastical jurisdiction over their flock, after being issued with an imperial "berat", an official document detailing all their ecclesiastical rights and privileges. But they do not appear to have involved themselves in the civil affairs of the "rayahs", such as the collection of taxes, during the first century of the Turkish Occupation. The Turkish administrators of the island were neither efficient nor honest, and the system of farming taxes brought such impoverishment to the people that many sought salvation through emigration.

In an effort to save Cyprus from depopulation and to control the local Turkish administrators, the "Porte" recognised in 1660 the Archbishop and his bishops as unofficial guardians and representatives of the "rayahs". As a result of this development the "Porte" graciously received their petitions, which they submitted directly under their own seal, and they even appeared in person before the "Grand Vezir", i.e. the Prime Minister, to state their complaints and ask for diminution of taxes. Such appeals were not always to the liking of the "Porte", but the procedure was retained as a channel of communication with their Greek subjects in Cyprus. During a meeting held in 1754, the "Grand Vezir" and the Cypriot bishops agreed that the amount of taxes to be levied annually from Cyprus should be fixed once

and for all "at 10,066 warrants of twenty one and a half piastres each".[5] This agreement was ratified by the "Sultan" through a "Khatti Humayun" or imperial rescript, and the bishops were issued with a "firman" or document appointing them as "godja-bashis", i.e. official representatives and supervisors of the people. In that way the Church leaders acquired official status and they also became directly responsible for the collection of taxes and indirectly for the maintenance of law and order.

3.2 The System of Education in Cyprus During the Last Fifty Years of the Turkish Rule (1830-1878)

During the Greek Revolution (1821-1829) against the Ottoman Empire, the Greek Cypriots were persecuted and Archbishop Kyprianos and all his bishops were hanged or decapitated. A climate of terror prevailed. In 1830 the "Porte", in order to relieve the situation, granted to the "rayahs" of Cyprus a certain degree of autonomy in their community affairs. By an imperial decree the Archbishop of Cyprus was given the right to convene a "General Assembly" of a "Committee of Demogerontes on Public Affairs", made up of the bishops and elected elders, called "demogerontes". The Committee of Demogerontes on Public Affairs was to be concerned with institutions related to the welfare of the community such as health and education.[6] In this way the Church and the elected representatives of the people were recognised as having a right to concern themselves with the education of the "rayahs".

In 1839 another privilege was accorded to the Church: membership of the Central Administrative Council for the Archbishop, and of the respective District Administrative Councils for his bishops.[7] However, the privileges accorded to the Archbishop and his

bishops were not always respected by the Turkish Governors of Cyprus. Although the Turks had abolished feudalism and restored the authority of the Orthodox Church, their rule was not benevolent. By granting privileges to the Church, the "Porte" simply used it as an agent for tax collection. The Church provided a ready-made organisational machinery, with a perfectly structured hierarchy down to the remotest village community, for this purpose. The Church on its part cherished these privileges because of the political power which they conferred.[8] The responsibility of the Archbishop for public education was confirmed once more in 1860; in that year the Turkish Governor of Cyprus, Ishak Haphouz Hakki, on the instruction of the Porte, wrote to the Archbishop asking for information about the Greek schools functioning in the island, in order to forward that information to the Sultan. The Archbishop supplied the necessary information, and a copy of his letter is kept in the Archbishopric in Nicosia. A total of 37 schools with 1,278 pupils was recorded in that letter.[9]

During the first two centuries of the Turkish Occupation illiteracy was so widespread that even the senior clergy were barely educated.[10] Some schools were later established, but they were short-lived because of the prevailing proverty and the Turkish misrule.[11] However, the recognition of the Archbishop of Cyprus as "ethnarch", i.e. political spokesman of the Greek Cypriots, and the establishment of the Committee of Demogerontes on Public Affairs in 1830 did have a favourable effect on their education. In fact the drive for education during the last fifty years of Turkish Rule was such that we can speak of a loosely organised system of education starting in 1830.

3.2.1 Administration of the Educational System

In 1830 Archbishop Panaretos called the first General

Assembly of the Committee of Demogerontes on Public Affairs to consider public affairs including education. That assembly decided to establish a "central" secondary school in Nicosia with branches in Larnaca and Limassol and to set up a fund for these three secondary schools, to which all those financially able would be asked to contribute. The salaries of the teachers were to be paid out of this fund. The assembly also decided to establish a primary school in Nicosia, which would be financed from fees paid by the parents of those children that might attend it. Finally it was decided to appoint a small sub-committee, whose functions would be to collect and administer the voluntary contributions for these schools.[12]

By 1839, nine years after the first meeting of the Committee of Demogerontes on Public Affairs, there were three secondary schools, one in each of the towns of Nicosia, Larnaca, and Limassol and seven primary schools, two in each of the towns of Nicosia and Larnaca and one in each of the towns of Limassol, Paphos, and Kyrenia. In that year the General Assembly of the Committee of Demogerontes on Public Affairs, under the presidency of Archbishop Panaretos, took an important decision related to education. They decided to establish a "Common Fund" by unifying the separate funds of all the public schools of the island, both primary and secondary. They also drew up the common budget of the schools, fixed the salaries of the teachers, appointed the first school committees and defined their duties. The major contributions came from the Church.[13] An assembly with similar business was convened in each of the following three years.[14]

Since 1843 the "Common Fund" for all the schools in the island was discontinued in favour of some decentralisation. Each district was left free to run its own funds and schools. School committees were to be elected in the towns and in those villages where

there was sufficient interest in education. The duties of these school committees were to be the collection and administration of contributions, the appointment of teachers and so on.[15]

The overall structure of the educational system that was formed during the last fifty years of the Turkish Occupation was decentralised,and the system depended on local initiative. Three bodies could be distinguished in this rather rudimentary system, the "General Assembly" of the "Committee of Demogerontes on Public Affairs", the "Town School Committees" and the "Village School Committees", although the structure and functions of each of these bodies were not strictly defined or adhered to.

The General Assembly of the Committee of Demogerontes on Public Affairs was the policy making central authority on all educational matters. It was an assembly of the bishops and the elected representatives of the people and was summoned and presided over by the Archbishop at the Archbishopric in Nicosia. It could make regulations on matters related to the management and finance of the community schools and in general provide for overall uniformity. The district representatives of this body were the bishops who, on the recommendation of the General Assembly, or of the Archbishop, or on their own initiative, could summon assemblies of the citizens of their town to consider educational matters related to the schools of their town. In the villages local assemblies were usually called by the village priest for similar purposes. The Town School Committees consisted of the Bishop of the Diocese as chairman, and six members elected by the local assembly. The Town School Committees were concerned with both primary and secondary schools. They had the power to appoint and dismiss teachers, fix and pay their salaries, collect the voluntary contributions and school fees, inspect the progress of

the pupils and in general administer the schools as they thought fit. The Village School Committees were concerned with the community elementary school of their own village and their functions were similar to those of the Town School Committees.[16]

The General Assembly of the Commmittee of Demogerontes on Public Affairs could interfere in the educational affairs of the districts. In 1854, for example, when it was realised that the education in the district of Paphos had been neglected, the General Assembly decided that three primary schools should be established in that district and that the then bishop of Paphos, Chariton, "should pay the salaries of the teachers", whereas all the other expenses should be paid from fees charged to the pupils. In the same decision it is noted that the christian inhabitants of that district "ought to pay promptly and fully to the bishop his customary canonical dues".[17]

3.2.2 Types of Schools and the Education and Status of Teachers

During the last fifty years of the Turkish Occupation (1830-1878) there were three types of school in Cyprus:

(a) The secondary schools, called "Hellēnika Scholeia", i.e. hellenic schools. They were semi-gymnasia with three to five forms.

(b) The community primary schools, called "Allēlodidactika Scholeia", i.e. monitorial schools. They functioned in the towns and in some large villages.

(c) The private primary schools. They were the most common schools in the villages.[18]

The teachers of these schools could be classified into three categories:

(a) Those who had graduated from a University, Normal School or other higher educational institution abroad, especially in Athens or Constantinople. They were considered teachers of higher status, but they were very few.

(b) Those who had graduated from one of the three secondary schools of the island, functioning in Nicosia, Larnaca and Limassol. These were few too.

(c) Those who had no formal qualification but some knowledge of reading and writing.[19]

The private primary schools were functioning as private enterprises in most villages of the island. Their teachers were semi-literate priests, monks or tradesmen such as shoemakers, shopkeepers and so on, who had some elementary knowledge of reading and writing, and used those skills to increase their earnings. These teachers were called "grammatodidaskaloi", that is teachers of reading and writing, and these were usually the only things they could teach. Their remuneration was some small fee, paid by the parents of the pupils, together with certain foodstuffs (such as bread, wine or cheese) which the pupils used to bring to the teachers on Saturdays, and called "sabbathkiatika". As places of teaching the priests and monks used the church buildings and the laymen their own houses, workshops, shops, or the open country. The books used in these schools were a reader called "Paedagōgia", which usually belonged to the teacher, and ecclesiastical books which usually belonged to the parents of the pupils. Reading was

mechanical and some of these semi-literate teachers could not themselves understand their books. Writing was done on slates and elementary arithmetic was taught in a few cases. Strict supervision of the pupils was carried out by the eldest and best pupils of the school, called "prōtoscholoi". The teachers administered severe and inhumane punishments and the parents themselves demanded that the teachers should punish severely. There was no fixed number of classes; those who had read through all the ecclesiastical books were considered graduates of these private schools.[20]

The community primary schools increased in number during the last 25 years of the Turkish Occupation, and induced teachers from private schools to take up employment in them; as expected, they transferred their traditional mechanical methods of teaching in the community schools. In some cases the teachers of the community schools were graduates of one of the three secondary schools of Nicosia, Larnaca or Limassol, and very seldomly had they studied in the Normal Schools of Athens. The latter were considered teachers of higher status and were usually appointed as headteachers, called "scholarches". These teachers introduced into the community schools of Cyprus the monitorial method of teaching, devised by Bell and Lancaster, which they had learned in Greece; hence the name "allēlodidactiko", i.e. monitorial, attached to such schools. The monitorial method was officially introduced into Greece in 1830 by order of the first Governor of independent Greece, John Cadodistrias. The monitorial method made possible the teaching of large number of pupils by one teacher only, with the help of the "prōtoscholoi", i.e. the eldest and best pupils of the school. As such it was inexpensive, and thus suitable to the then poverty stricken countries of Greece and Cyprus.[21]

The use of the monitorial method in Cyprus was described in detail by the first English Inspector of Schools in his report on a preliminary inspection of Greek schools which he submitted to the first British High Commissioner of Cyprus in 1880. According to that report, the teacher of a monitorial school chose the best pupils of the senior forms, the "prōtoscholoi", and used them to teach the lower forms. They were instructed every morning by the teacher in the content of the day's lesson(s) and in a rudimentary method of how each of them was to present it to his form. The teacher himself taught the higher forms, including the "prōtoscholoi", and supervised the work of the "prōtoscholoi" in the lower forms. The "prōtoscholoi" were also used as supervisors of discipline and to keep the school-room clean and tidy. Punishment, by the teacher, was very harsh. Every monitorial school had two sections, the senior section and the junior section. The number of forms varied from school to school, and even from subject to subject, but the usual pattern was a total of 6 to 8 forms. The subjects usually taught were Reading, Writing, Grammar, Translation from ecclesiastical books, Arithmetic, History, Geography and Religious Education. The school building was usually a rented large room for all the children. The School Committee collected the school fees and any other contributions and hired and fired the teachers. Teachers were generally underpaid.[22]

The three secondary schools of Nicosia, Larnaca, and Limassol were staffed with masters, most of whom were graduates of the University of Athens or other Greek institutions of higher education. According to the reports of the first English Inspector of Schools, they carried out their educational work in a more or less satisfactory way. But because of the poverty of the people very few pupils were able to attend these schools. The graduates of secondary schools

usually became clergymen or teachers in the primary schools of the country. The secondary schools of Nicosia and Larnaca had five forms each, while that of Limassol had three forms. Their curriculum was extensive and included Ancient and Modern Greek Language, Higher Mathematics, History, Religious Education, Science,and French.[23]

The most important of these secondary schools was the "Hellenic School of Nicosia". It was originally established by Archbishop Kyprianos in 1812 and was housed opposite the Archbishopric in Nicosia. It was closed in 1821 during the Greek Revolution, but it was re-established in 1830 by the first General Assembly of the Committee of Demogerontes on Public Affairs.[24] In 1893 it was renamed "Pancyprian Gymnasium" and a new branch called "Pankyprion Didaskaleion" was added to it. This branch was a Normal School for the paedagogical training of primary school teachers.[25]

3.3 Early British Attempts to Improve Education (1881-1893)

The British Administration of Cyprus started on 12th July, 1878, after the "Convention of Defensive Alliance" was concluded the previous month between Great Britain and the Ottoman Empire. Following the Crimean War, the Sultan "consented to assign the island of Cyprus to be occupied and administered by England", and in exchange she undertook to rally to the defence of Turkey "by force of arms", if any further attempts were made by Russia to take possession of any territories of the Sultan.[26]

The first step taken by the British Government was to assess the prevailing conditions in the island. The High Commissioner of Cyprus and the District Commissioners submitted reports on the situation, including education. Writing on the subject of education

in his first report (for the year 1879), the then British High Commissioner of Cyprus, Sir Robert Biddulph, summarised the situation as follows:

> "The state of education in Cyprus must be considered to be at a low standard if judged by modern ideas. The majority of the agricultural population have received little or no education. In many villages not a single person can read or write and the education of the women is almost completely neglected".[27]

The British Commissioner of Paphos emphasised in his report that the education in his district was "regrettably neglected" and that only two schools were properly supervised and staffed by competent teachers. The British Commissioner of Famagusta pointed out in his report that "the salaries of the masters appeared to have been generally hopelessly in arrears, and in many cases the masters either went on teaching from pure love of work or else frequently closed their schools". The British Commissioner of the district of Nicosia stated in his report that the four community schools of the capital Nicosia were "regularly inspected by the Archbishop", and were supported mainly by the Church which contributed £T400, out of a total of £T750 required for their finance. The total number of Greek community primary schools as ascertained from these reports was 83, educating about 10 per cent of children in the age range of about 6 to about 14.[28]

These reports give a vivid picture of the situation. Prior to the occupation of Cyprus by the British in 1878 no state aid was provided for the schools of the Greek Cypriots. Their schools were supported by school fees and voluntary contributions, of which that of the Church was the main one. The schools were administered by local School Committees, which were often inefficient and did not pay the teachers regularly, so that the whole system was struggling for survival. The vast majority of the population was illiterate and the

country was a poor and neglected dominion of a declining Ottoman Empire. Hence the evaluation of what has been achieved during the British Administration must be judged against that deplorable legacy.[29]

Early in 1880, at the request of the High Commissioner, an inspection of schools was carried out by an English clergyman, the Reverend Josiah Spencer, who had been sent out to Cyprus by the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" at the time of the British Occupation, and had taken great interest in the educational matters of the island. He was appointed, at the close of 1880, as the first Director of Education, and after a year he was restyled "Inspector of Schools". Spencer submitted a report to the High Commissioner on that "preliminary inspection" of schools, explaining in detail the defects he discovered, especially the frequent change of masters. He was very disappointed with the system of appointment of teachers. In many cases appointment was merely the result of a bargain between the School Committee and the cheapest person they could find, who often rushed off without notice, as soon as he was tempted away by a higher offer. In many cases the so-called School Committee was little more than nominal, and often rival committees and rival schools of temporary character sprang up.[30]

In his first official report as Director of Education, Spencer made the following recommendations:

(a) Introduction of grants-in-aid to enable higher salaries to be paid to those teachers "whose work and character" were found, upon inspection, to be satisfactory;

(b) establishment of English secondary schools in the three major towns of Nicosia, Larnaca, and Limassol;

(c) introduction of the teaching of English in the native primary and secondary schools; and

(d) establishment of a Teachers' Training College in the capital Nicosia, under an English principal, for the education of teachers of English.[31]

These suggestions were shared by Cobham, the influential Commissioner of Larnaca and author of the monumental "Excerpta Cypria", who in one of his reports advocated the use of English as the medium of instruction in the schools of the island. The High Commissioner, Sir Robert Biddulph, also agreed with Spencer's suggestions for an interventionist policy in the education of Cyprus and advised the Secretary of State for the Colonies along those lines. But the Secretary of State, Lord Kimberley, in a definitive despatch dated 10th June, 1881, rejected most of the above suggestions, because they involved considerable expense and because he considered that the Greek language afforded "ample means, not only for ordinary education, but also for the attainment of a high degree of mental culture".[32]

The policy initiated by Kimberley was quite circumspect, attempting neither to dictate the content of education nor to supersede existing arrangements in its administration. Kimberley laid down in his reply two principles which in their essential aspects determined the educational policy of the British Government during the next three decades (1881 to 1911). The first principle was that the educational policy should be one which would not involve an ambitious budgetary expense, since the conditions of Britain's tenure of Cyprus was merely "to administer" the island. Characteristically it did not concern itself with the development of secondary education, but made it subordinate to the spread of literacy through primary education. The

second principle was that any action which would excite the islanders' opposition should be avoided. The Colonial Government was to stimulate educational progress through the inspection of schools, systematic reorganisation of existing administrative bodies, and the provision of small amounts of money as grants-in-aid to deserving schools and teachers. The suggestion for the establishment of an English Teachers' Training College was also turned down by Kimberley because the project would be too expensive and unlikely to attract students, if the Greek Orthodox Church leaders boycotted it. Instead he suggested a less expensive scheme of in-service summer courses for serving teachers, if they wanted to learn English in order to teach it in their schools.[33]

Under the new organisation of education, as defined by Kimberley, the post of Director of Education was abolished and Spencer's duties were limited to those of Inspector of Schools, with advisory powers only.[34] An annual grant-in-aid of £3,000 was eventually made available for distribution to the primary schools of the two communities, and Spencer set about making the best use of these resources. He considered that the most urgent need for the Greek Cypriot schools was the introduction of a proper system of local management. To achieve such efficiency in management, conditions were to be attached to the grants-in-aid.[35]

A circular letter, dated 26th July,1881, was sent by the Chief Secretary of the Colonial Government to every village recommending certain administrative procedures for general adoption, and explaining the purpose of the grants-in-aid and the conditions attached to them. That circular letter was later described as "the fons et origo of the educational system of Cyprus".[36] According to the circular, before any application from a community for a grant could be considered, a School Committee should be elected by the community,

consisting of three to seven members. The main functions of a School Committee were to correspond with the Director of Education and to be responsible for the collection of local contributions and school fees and for punctual payment of corresponding charges. The circular also regulated the way by which the grants were to be paid, by requiring that any allowance towards a teacher's pay should be forwarded only after payment vouchers had been sent to the Director of Education, proving that the teacher had been paid in full up to within three months of the date of the application for aid. Grants were also to be allocated specifically for the provision of books, maps, and other school materials. Finally the circular letter stressed that the assistance contemplated by the Government was not intended to replace the existing sources of finance of the primary schools, but rather to encourage and regulate the local efforts in maintaining a school.[37]

Although the terms of the circular hardly implied any Government control, suspicion of the Government's intentions resulted in only 17 Greek school committees applying for grants in 1881. This suspicion was due to Spencer's religious orders and to his anglicising tendencies, referred to earlier, which were interpreted by the leaders of the Greek Orthodox Church as an attempt to "dehellenize" the education of Cyprus. In addition "careful viva voce explanation" and assistance on the spot in preparing an application for a grant were needed in most cases.[38] Gradually it became apparent that the aim of the grants-in-aid had been "to graft onto the existing stock, order and management in a spirit conforming to modern ideas", leaving the actual control of the schools in the hands of local committees in each village, rather than to introduce a new and ready-made system.[39] In the next year (1882), many more School Committees applied for a grant. To cope with the situation, two assistants were appointed, to enable

Spencer to "ascertain with more exactness in each case, the average daily attendance, the value of the teaching, the efficiency of the management and the amount of local contributions".[40] The amount of grants-in-aid was fixed by the British Government at £3,000 on the recommendation of E. Fairfield, an official of the Colonial Office, who was sent out to Cyprus in 1882 to investigate and report on the finances and administration of the island. Of this amount, £2,250 was apportioned to Greek primary schools and £750 to Turkish primary schools. In 1892 the total grant was increased by £210 to account for the increase of the population as shown by the census taken in the previous year.[41]

Spencer was in sympathy with the teachers, especially those who were receptive to his suggestions, but he wanted to get rid of the teachers of the "old type".[42] The teachers "were full of complaints" about their low salaries and the uncertain way in which they were paid; frequently a quarrel arose over non-payment, culminating in the master's departure and the closing of the school. Under the new arrangements, the managers of a school could not claim a government grant without producing the receipt from the master for his salary in full for the previous quarter. The effect was to check to some extent the rapid change of masters and the consequent break in the continuity of the work of the schools.[43] However, collecting local subscriptions was very difficult, since they were completely voluntary. On the other hand, although the number of primary schools increased year by year, the annual sum to be distributed amongst them as grant-in-aid remained the same, at about £2,250. Thus in the school year 1888-9, the grants-in-aid accounted for only 38 per cent of the total nominal cost of running the Greek primary schools.[44] Summing up the situation in 1891, ten years after this voluntary system for running the schools had been

introduced, Spencer pointed out its shortcomings in the following way:

> "The managers taking advantage of the constantly increasing supply of persons, calling themselves school masters, offer lower and lower salaries, until in many cases little is now given beyond the amount of the government grant. The result is that the profession of the school master falls lower and lower in general estimation, and most of those now serving in it eagerly catch at any chance of turning to some more remunerative employment."[45]

Even so, the position of the masters would not have been so hopeless if the salaries agreed upon, small as they were, had been actually paid to them. On the recommendation of Spencer, a regulation was issued directing that, before the government grant was to be paid to a School Committee, the teacher's salary should be handed to the teacher personally by the school managers, in the presence of a local official under the directions of the Commissioner of the District. The new system of payment of school masters was tried but it came to nothing, because arrangements could still be made for conforming in all appearances with the rules while actually evading them. According to Walter Sendall who was High Commissioner of Cyprus at that time, and has taken great interest in the education of the island,

> "in many cases the payments which, in compliance with the order, were made by the managers in the presence of an official, were in fact fictitious; the money (sometimes temporarily borrowed from third parties) was handed back by the teachers as soon as the grant had been secured. By arrangements of this nature the perverse ingenuity of managers and masters rendered the system wholly and absolutely ineffectual."[46]

The need for a law regulating the system of education in Cyprus was clearly seen both by the Colonial Government and by the Legislative Council. Such a law was in fact passed in 1895, and it will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. Despite the mismanagement of the schools, the effect of the grants-in-aid must not

be underestimated. In 1881, the first year the grants became available, there were 99 Greek community primary schools attended by 4,907 pupils, representing about 10 per cent of children between 6 and 14. Ten years later, there were 223 such schools, attended by 10,458 pupils, representing at that time about 20 per cent of children in that age group.[47]

While schools went on increasing in numbers, the method of teaching remained very much traditional rote learning. Each master arranged his classes and lessons to be given according to his own fancy.[48] Very few teachers had undergone paedagogical training at a Teachers' Training College in Athens, and a few others were graduates of one of the three secondary schools of Nicosia, Larnaca or Limassol. But the vast majority of masters did not have any recognised qualifications. Realising the need for at least some order and uniformity, Spencer prepared a programme of daily lessons, based upon those which were in use in the elementary schools of Greece, together with a list of books arranged in the order in which they should be read, and distributed that programme to all the schools in September 1886.[49] In the same academic year (1886-1887), two teachers, who had been educated at a Teachers' Training College in Athens, started using the so-called "new method" of teaching. Spencer was very pleased, and he reported on the "new method" as follows:

> "The lessons which I have heard these masters give are something like the "object lessons" which are given in English schools. The children are really taught by their masters, and taught to think about the subject before them, as the master explains it to them, instead of being merely set to learn lessons of which they do not understand the meaning. I hope that this is the beginning of better things as regards the instruction in our elementary schools."[50]

Spencer was reiterating in his annual reports that the

greatest need, after the proper management of a school, was "a course of instruction in the art of teaching for those who wished to become masters".[51] The Government and the members of the Legislative Council realised that need, and in May 1892 they passed the first educational law, entitled "The School-masters Qualifications Law, 1892" (Law 7/1892). According to that law, as from September 1892, no one was to be appointed as a master of a Greek elementary school receiving government aid, unless he possessed the following two qualifications:

(a) a leaving certificate from one of the secondary schools of the island; and

(b) a certificate testifying that he had been present at a course of lessons given according to the new teaching method in one of the elementary public schools of the island.

Attendance at such a course for a least one month was required for those who had taught for a year or more, and attendance for at least three months for those whose teaching experience was less than a year. For somebody who was not a graduate of a secondary school, the law required that he should have:

(a) a certificate testifying that he had been successfully teaching for at least five years; and

(b) a certificate testifying that he had been present for at least one month at a course of lessons given according to the new teaching method, in one of the elementary public schools of the island.

No grant was to be given to any school which employed any

teacher not qualified as provided under the law. All appointments were to be ratified by producing before the Commissioner of the district, or the Inspector of Schools, the required certificates as to the qualifications of the masters. Certificates testifying the attendance at a course of lessons given according to the "new method" of teaching were to be signed by the master of the elementary school giving the lessons according to that method, and by the School Committee of that school, and certified by the Archbishop or Bishop of a Diocese, or any person lawfully acting on their behalf. Certificates testifying that a non-graduate teacher had been successfully teaching for at least five years prior to certification were to be signed by the corresponding School Committee, the "ecclesiastical authorities" and by the Inspector of Schools.[52]

It was hoped that the law would end the employment of totally unqualified people as school-masters and require everybody to attend an in-service training course of at least one month's duration. There were then only five school-masters who had been trained in the "new method" of teaching at the Teachers' Training College of Athens, and Spencer made arrangements for them to instruct their colleagues in the "new method", during the month of September 1892.[53] Many teachers, of the then 268 teachers serving in the 223 primary schools of the island, attended that course and were in that way certificated. During the academic year 1892-93 three of those teachers qualified in Athens were appointed as "travelling teachers", to instruct the other teachers on matters of methodology in their own schoolrooms. These arrangements were repeated in September 1893 and during the academic year 1893-94 and 1894-95. Towards the end of 1893 the "Hellenic School of Nicosia" was upgraded and renamed "The Pancyprian Gymnasium" and, besides preparing students for the University of Athens, undertook the pre-

service training of primary school teachers[54]

3.4 The "Enosis" Movement and the Conflict Over the Control of Schools and Teachers

The anglicizing and interventionist suggestions put forward by Josiah Spencer in his first report as Director of Education were interpreted by the leaders of the Greek Cypriots as an attempt to "dehellenize" the education of Cyprus. Many School Committees were reluctant to apply for a government grant, until it became clear that Spencer's views were not shared by the British Government in London. In fact that incident was just the tip of the iceberg of a nationalist movement resulting in a political conflict between British rulers and their Greek Cypriot subjects. Nationalism has played a crucial part in the formulation of educational policies and indeed of all kinds of policies pursued by both parties in the conflict. The British Government made every effort to combat the nationalist movement and the Greek Cypriot leaders made constant efforts to promote it and achieve "enosis", i.e. union with Greece.

Nationalism proper is a doctrine originally invented and elaborated in Europe; for this reason it can be called "European nationalism". According to Kedourie,

> "nationalism holds that humanity is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known by certain characteristics which can be ascertained and that the only legitimate type of government is self-government ... The nationalist doctrine further asserts that the only legitimate political association is one which binds together men speaking the same language, sharing the same culture and cherishing the same heroes and ancestors."[55]

Nationalism has originated in Europe, but spread out to colonial Africa and Asia in the twentieth century. Nationalism in Europe was associated with the building of the nation-state, namely the

"nation with de facto territorial sovereignty".[56] Nationalism outside Europe was associated with anticolonial struggles and, for this reason, can be called "anticolonial nationalism". Anticolonialism stressed the uneven distribution of wealth and the uneven participation in the administration. The latter unevenness did lead to the radicalisation of the local elites and the intelligentsia, who found themselves disadvantaged and sought to mobilise the masses against the colonial rulers. In this effort they appealed to culture, race, language and religion, characteristics which usually differentiated the people from their colonial rulers and which were easily understood by the masses.[57]

Greek nationalism as an ideology was first expounded by Koraēs, a leading Greek intellectual, in a lecture delivered before a French audience in Paris in 1803, eighteen years before the Greek Revolution. That lecture, entitled "Report on the Present State of the Civilization in Greece", was an appeal to a glorious past, which assured of a still more glorious future, but postulated the subversion of the existing institutional order. In the concluding words of his lecture, Koraēs emphasized that the Greeks of his days were the descendants of the ancient Greeks, and they ought "either to try to become worthy of this name, or not to bear it".[58] After the Greek independence, Greek nationalist ideology was further elaborated by the Greek historian Paparhegopoulos. In his five-volume work "History of the Greek Nation", whose publication was completed one year before the British ocupation of Cyprus, Paparhēgopoulos argued that the whole of the Greek history, from the glorious times of Periclēs in the fifth century B.C. to his own days, formed one consecutive story, a manifestation of the Hellenic spirit, which gave it an underlying and abiding unity.[59]

The formation of the Greek nation-state was a protracted

process that lasted over a century, incorporating more and more Greek lands. For successive Greek Governments it was only natural to assume that Cyprus, where 80 per cent of the population was Greek, would some time be incorporated in the Greek State. "Enosis" movements did emerge in other parts of the Greek world, such as Thessaly, Macedonia, Crete and the Ionian Islands. The aspiration for "enosis", i.e. union of Cyprus with Greece, was first publicly declared in 1830 by the first Governor of Greece, John Capodistrias.[60] In Cyprus itself Archbishop Kyprianos, all his bishops and many influential Greek Cypriots were executed in 1821, for allegedly preparing to join in the mainland Greek Revolution against Ottoman Rule. Although there were no overt nationalist actions after that massacre, in the minds of the Greek Cypriots the Church symbolised thereafter the overt and covert resistance of the people against foreign rule.

"Enosis" was a manifestation of the "Great Idea", a pan-hellenic dream that one day the Byzantine Empire would be restored and all Greek lands would be united into a Greater Greece. The Greek Cypriots considered themselves historically and culturally to be Greeks and thus the idea of "enosis" has had an intense emotional appeal to them.[61] No sooner had the British set foot on the island than the claim for "enosis" was squarely propounded by Archbishop Sophronios, in his welcoming address to the first British High Commissioner, Sir Garnet Wolseley, as follows:

> "We accept the change of government, in as much as we trust that Great Britain will help Cyprus, as did the Ionian Islands, to be united with Mother Greece, with which it is nationally connected."[62]

The claim has been repeated since then on many occasions in the Greek Cypriot press, in the Legislative Council of Cyprus and in

innumerable memorials to the British Government. The British did recognise the ethnological connection between Greece and Cyprus, but they argued that they had no right to discuss the question of "enosis" as they were bound by the 1878 "Treaty of Defensive Alliance" with Turkey, to which the island continued to belong legally. In fact the colonial history of Cyprus is dotted with recognitions, by British officials and politicians, of the Greekness of Cyprus and of its legitimate claim to union with Greece.[63] Ronald Storrs, at one time Governor of Cyprus, expressed this recognition in no uncertain terms in his biography, his "Orientations":

> "The Greekness of Cypriots is in my opinion indisputable. Nationalism is more, is other, is greater than pigmentations or cephalic indices. A man is of the race of which he passionately feels to be. No sensible person will deny that the Cypriot is Greek-speaking, Greek-thinking, Greek-feeling, Greek."[64]

Churchill was even more forthright. In a reply to a memorial from the Greek members of the Legislative Council, submitted to him during his visit to Cyprus in 1907, he admitted that

> "it is only natural that the Cypriot people who are of Greek descent, should regard their incorporation with what may be called their Mother-country as an ideal to be earnestly, devoutly and fervently cherished."[65]

The annexation of Cyprus to the Crown in 1914, on the outbreak of the war with Turkey, left England free to do with Cyprus what she would. In October 1915 Cyprus was formally offered to Greece, on condition that the latter would enter the war as an ally of Great Britain. Greece was not prepared to enter the war and declined the offer. The offer therefore lapsed and was never repeated, although Greece did enter the war on the side of the British two years later. But that incident showed that England was prepared to recognize that

claims to "enosis" were not unjustifiable. In later years, strategic considerations of the "importancy of Cyprus" prevailed and union with Greece did not materialise.[66]

The persistence of the claim to "enosis" by the Greek Cypriots was not due to emotional grounds only; there were also socio-economic reasons for discontent. These were manifested among the Cypriot Church, the educated elites, the young and the wider strata of the population.[67]

The British Administration introduced new laws, new institutions and new practices that were in direct opposition to local customs and traditions. They questioned the legitimacy of the Church as a political institution and of the Archbishop as "ethnarch", i.e. political representative of the people, which he had enjoyed under the Ottoman "millet" system. They created the Legislative Council of Cyprus, with ex-officio British Officials and elected local Members. In fact some Church leaders availed themselves of this right and were elected along with lay representatives as members of the Legislative Council. Although this was clearly an erosion of their supremacy as political leaders, they did use the rostrum of the Legislative Council to conduct their "pro-enosis" and anti-British propaganda. Another infringement of their prerogatives was the attempt by the Colonial Government to tax ecclesiastical property; although it did not materialize, it created much ill-feeling. The British also refused to provide police support to the bishops in the collection of their canonical and customary dues, as the Turkish Governors had done. The erosion of the traditional Church authority in political and financial matters helped to make the Church ardent supporters and indeed leaders of the nationalist movement for "enosis" with Greece. It was the higher clergy who instigated the October Revolt of 1931 and it was with

Church aid that the Cyprus Revolution of 1955-59 was organised.[68]

The educated urban elite had a different reason for discontent. The British reserved senior administrative posts to themselves and did not mix freely with the Cypriot elite. The British officals held aloof from the Cypriot society, partly owing to their ignorance of the Greek langage and partly by reason of differences in social standards and customs. The educated Cypriot when visiting or studying in England was received everywhere on terms of complete social equality, yet he was treated with contemptuous arrogance by the majority of the privileged English officials, when back in Cyprus. By treating these elites as second-class citizens in their own country, they effectively encouraged protest of all kinds, and "enosis" was one form of such protest.[69]

The wider strata of the population had another cause for discontent: the burden of the "tribute". The tribute was the "excess of revenue over expenditure" to be paid to Turkey, according to the Cyprus Convention of 1878. Although prominent British politicians and colonial administrators were against that extraction, its imposition continued until 1927, when the Cypriots were relieved of it by an almost equivalent annual grant from the British Treasury, thanks to Churchill's sympathetic stand.[70] According to Sir Ronald Storrs, "what was entirely unjustifiable was that this sum, which was evaluated with the unscrupulous exactitude characteristic of faked accounts at £92,799 11s. 3d., should have been a yearly charge, not upon the British Exchequer, but upon the revenues of Cyprus".[71] The imposition of the tribute could have no justification; it was simply a gross blunder for which the poor and innocent Cypriots were paying. Their concomitant economic frustration easily found an outlet in the "enosis" movement, as the solution to that problem.

Another development that affected the wider strata of the population, although it had no direct origin in the British Rule of Cyprus, was the communist movement. The "Communist Party of Cyprus" was established in 1926, was proscribed in 1931 after the October Revolt along with all other parties, and reappeared in 1941 under the name of "Anorthōtikon Komma Ergazomenou Laou - AKEL", i.e. Progressive Party of the Working People. They broadened the popular basis of the "enosis" movement as an anticolonial movement, and brought into forum the issues of exploitation and capitalism. In 1946 the communist movement proved to be a formidable electoral power; in the municipal elections of that year the communists won in the three major cities, including the capital. In the new situation there was intense competition between the Church and the Right on the one hand and the Left on the other over the leadership of the anticolonial movement. But the Cypriot communists made a tactical mistake. Influenced by the Civil War of the late 1940's in Greece, after which the communists of Greece continued to be persecuted, they co-operated with the Colonial Government in an attempt to negotiate self-government for Cyprus. The Church and the Right refused to have anything to do with proposals diluting the demand for "enosis". The negotiations were unsuccessful and the communists withdrew, after causing a lot of political damage to themselves. Thereafter the nationalist movement, lead by the Church, became intransigent, and culminated first in the "enosis plebiscite" of 1950 and then in the Cyprus Revolution of 1955-59, a Revolution in which the communists did not take part.[72]

Finally, the young were nurtured to be loyal to the Greek state rather than to the British Empire. The schools were used as vehicles to spread nationalist ideology, to reinforce ethnic identity and to lay the foundations for political mobilization.[73] The teachers,

being in the center of the educational process, were used as instruments by the nationalist politicians to further the "enosis" movement. Theodotou, a prominent Greek Cypriot politician, emphasised in 1913 the importance of controlling the teachers and their education in the following way:

> "We cannot deny that school-teachers are factors in the country socially and politically. No one would deny this, or that the teachers have helped us in our controversies with the Government. They have, for instance, helped us to bring about the reduction of the tribute to Turkey, and there are other subjects in which we are still at variance with the Government. They have in this way educated the people in fighting for their political rights. The teachers in our hands are a weapon difficult to fight against and we do not want to hand them over to the Government."[74]

Realising the political significance of education, the British Administration attempted to control the schools and the teachers. The Greek Cypriot nationalists and especially the Church leaders cherished their control over the schools, and this led to a political and educational conflict. Persianis summarised this conflict as follows:

> "Both the Church and the Government tried to use the schools in order to foster their political aims. The Cyprus Church, believing that the island was Greek and should belong to Greece, saw the educational problems from its own angle, and insisted that the education imparted in schools should be the same as that given to pupils in Greece. The Colonial Government on the other hand, seeing the educational problems from the viewpoint of the whole island with its different communities, believed that the schools should help to create a new nation, the Cypriot nation, and therefore should drop anything that would link the people emotionally with foreign countries."[75]

It is therefore important to keep in mind that the political problem of Cyprus that led to a conflict between the British Government and the Greek Cypriots has had a profound effect on all kinds of educational policies put forward by either side during the British Administration. This will be more apparent in the following two chapters.

CHAPTER 4

THE PERIOD OF THE NORMAL SCHOOLS (1893-1935)

4.1 Establishment of a Legal Administrative Framework for Primary Education in Cyprus

The voluntary system of running the schools, that was used during the early years of the British administration of the island, remained grossly inefficient, despite the encouragement for better management provided by the grants-in-aid. There was a strongly felt need for a law to formalise the administrative structure of primary education. But it was not until 1895 that such a law was actually passed by the Legislative Council. The delay was due to the non-interventionist policy of the Colonial Office during those years as regards education, and to the deep suspicion by the Church leaders of the island concerning the intentions of the local colonial administrators. They disliked and suspected Spencer, the Inspector of Schools, for the anglicizing suggestions put forward in his first report, and guarded jealously their "ab antiquo rights" to control Greek education.[1*]

4.1.1 The Village Primary Schools

However, in the end a form of partnership was worked out between the Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus and the Colonial Government and embodied in an education bill which was passed by the Legislative Council as the "Education Law of 1895" (Law 18/1895).[2] Minor

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* Notes and references to this chapter start on page 861.

amendments to it were made two years later by the "Education Amendment Law of 1897" (Law 14/1897).[3] It must be noted that separate and similar arrangements were made for the Turkish Cypriots. The Education Law of 1895 provided for the establishment of the following three bodies for the Greek Cypriot schools:

(a) The Board of Education;

(b) the District Committees of Education; and

(c) the Village Committees of Education.

According to the Education Law of 1895 the purpose of the Board of Education was "to regulate and decide definitely" upon all matters concerned with Greek Cypriot education, and "to advise and assist the High Commissioner in the expenditure of the sums annually voted in aid of education".[4] The Board was to be composed of eleven members, of whom two were to be ex-officio members, while the rest were to be elected every two years. The ex-officio members were to be the Archbishop of Cyprus and the British Chief Secretary to the Government, who was also to be the Chairman of the Board. Of the nine elected members, six were to be chosen by the District Committees of Education from among their members - one from each of the six districts - and three were to be chosen by the Greek Cypriot Members of the Legislative Council from among themselves. The Inspector of Schools was not to be a member of the Board of Education, but was to have the right to be present at the meetings of the Board and to give his opinion whenever he considered this necessary or was invited to do so.[5]

The Board of Education was to be the policy-making body of the administrative heirarchy for education. In particular it was to be the duty of the Board of Education to deal with the following matters: To lay down the course of instruction to be followed in the schools; to

receive and consider the reports of the Inspector of Schools, when referred to them by the Government, and to recommend to the Government the grants to be given to schools; to hear and decide complaints from the inhabitants or from the teachers that the District Committees may have been unable to settle; to hear appeals against the decisions of the District Committees on complaints that may have been made to them; to hear and determine complaints as to the partition of the village contribution to the expenses of maintaining a school; to make regulations laying down the duties of school teachers and the circumstances under which they might be dismissed; and to determine the villages in which elementary schools should be established, and the number of teachers to be appointed at each school.[6]

The purpose of a District Committee was to act as a co-ordinating executive branch at district level and to enforce decisions where a Village Committee had failed to do so. Each District Committee was to be composed of two ex-officio members and four elected members, chosen every two years. In addition the member or members of the Legislative Council who represented the Greek Cypriot community of the district were to have the right to be present at the meetings of the District Committee and to vote on all matters that were brought before them. The ex-officio members of the District Committee were to be the Bishop of the Diocese and the British District Commissioner, who was to be the Chairman of the Committee. The four elected members of a District Committee were to be chosen by the villages which supported schools in the district.[7]

The duties of a District Committee of Education were to be as follows: To consider and recommend to the Board of Education the villages in their district in which schools should be established; to appoint and dismiss the masters of elementary schools, subject to the

regulations that might from time to time be made in that behalf, and to fix the salary to be paid to the teacher and the sum to be contributed by each village in aid of a school in the cases in which a Village Committee had refused or neglected to appoint a teacher within the time prescribed by the law; to hear and determine complaints on the management of the schools, either by the inhabitants or by the teachers, and to consider appeals from the Village Committees on the apportionment of the amount of the village contribution among the inhabitants; and to consider, and report to the Board of Education, on all matters connected with education in the District.[8]

Finally, the purpose of a Village Committee, as provided by the law, was to be the executive branch of the hierarchy at local level. It was to be composed of three to five members, elected directly every year by the tax-paying Greek Cypriot inhabitants of a village, at a meeting summoned and presided over by the Muktar, i.e. the headman of the village. But no village was compelled to support a school and elect a Village Committee against the wishes of the majority of the tax-paying inhabitants of the village.[9]

The duties of a Village Committee of Education were to be as follows: To appoint and dismiss the teachers of the elementary school of the village, subject to the regulations that might from time to time be made on that behalf; to make agreements with the teachers and to settle the salaries to be paid to them thereof; to divide among the church or churches of the village and the inhabitants the amount of the village contribution for the school-teachers' salaries and, if they so decided, for the repairs, furniture, or general maintenance of the village school; and to bring to the notice of the District Committee all matters connected with education in the village.[10]

Comparing the administrative structure of primary education

that existed under Turkish Rule with that laid down by the Education Law of 1895, it is obvious that the aim was not so much to introduce a new system but rather to "graft onto the existing stock order and management" in a spirit conforming to the needs identified during the early years of the British Administration.[11] One can clearly see a continuation of previous practices, that is decentralisation of management and control by popularly elected committees. Control over the management of schools and over the teachers remained with each local community; only when there was a failure of management at community level was a higher authority called upon. The members of the administrative hierarchy were elected by the people except for the ex-officio members who came from the Church and the Colonial Administration. In that sense, there was a partnership between the people, the Church and the Colonial Government in the administration of primary education.

Administratively, however, the Education Law of 1895 was a great advance towards a more cohesive and uniform system. Previously (from 1830 to 1895) there were only Village Committees and Town Committees which carried out their local responsibilities for education in a faulty and often corrupt way, while the General Assembly of the "Committee of Demogerontes on Public Affairs" had no legal powers to enforce its decisions. Under the Education Law of 1895 a proper administrative hierarchy was established. In particular, the establishment of District Committees provided an intermediate level in the administrative structure and improved the channels of communication, because disputes at a lower level could be settled by appeals to a higher level of the educational hierarchy. On the other hand, the Board of Education, by being the policy-making body of the administrative hierarchy, provided for some kind of uniformity. It was

empowered to "lay down the course of instruction to be followed in the schools."[12]

For this purpose the Board of Education appointed in 1898 a sub-committee to draw up regulations for the primary schools of Cyprus and an "analytical programme" of lessons to be taught in them. These regulations received the sanction of the Board and were adopted by all the primary schools of the island. This measure, obviously, provided a certain degree of uniformity that was lacking in the previous arrangements. The regulations contained very minute directions, based on the "new method" of teaching as enforced at the teachers' classes at the University of Athens, "prescribing with great exactness" the courses of lessons, the hours at which each should be given, and the methods which the teachers should "employ in teaching and questioning the pupils."[13]

4.1.2 The Town Primary Schools and the Archiepiscopal Question.

The Education Law of 1895 left out of its provisions the primary schools of the six towns of Cyprus, although it provided that grants-in-aid should be paid to these schools if they employed qualified teachers. These schools were administered by Town Committees, whose functions were similar to those of the Village Committees, save that they did not have the power to impose local taxes in support of a school. They were well supported by voluntary contributions, mainly from the Church, and by the tuition fees paid by the parents of the children attending these schools. The Town Committees were responsible both for the primary and secondary schools in the towns. The primary schools of the towns were left out of the provisions of the Education Law of 1895, because during the

negotiations between the Church and the Colonial Administration leading to the Education Law of 1895 the Church insisted on retaining control of these schools, and because they functioned in a more or less satisfactory way.[14] However, as provided by the law, they could be brought under it at the request of two-thirds of the tax-paying inhabitants of the town concerned.[15]

In 1905, as a result of a political controversy which revolved around the "Archiepiscopal Question",[16] the town primary schools were incorporated in the system through the "Education Law of 1905" (Law 5/1905).[17] The application of that law became the subject of a dispute, between factions within the Greek Cypriot community itself, exacerbating the political controversies of the time related to the Archiepiscopal question. The Archiepiscopal question lasted for ten years and had a serious effect on the schools; it is an illustrative example of the conflict between tradition on the one hand and the need for efficiency on the other in running the schools. For this reason it is treated in some detail in the account that follows.

Since 1754, when the Archbishop was officially recognised by the Turkish Authorities as "ethnarch", i.e. official representative of the Greek Cypriots, they acquired the right to elect their Archbishop and Bishops. This was later embodied in the Constitution of the Cyprus Church, and it applies even today. Archbishop Sophronios died in 1900. The Bishop of Paphos had died a year earlier, but no successor to his throne had been elected by the time of the Archbishop's death. In that way, there remained only two bishops in Cyprus, Cyril of Kyrenia, and Cyril of Kition, and both presented themselves as candidates for the Archiepiscopal throne. The bishop of Kition enjoyed widespread popular support as a militant opponent of the tribute and an active enosist in the Legislative Council, of which he was a member. The Bishop of

Kyrenia was supported by the members of the Holy Synod and by the wealthy classes.[18]

In the Archiepiscopal elections of September 1900, the "Kition party" won 46 out of the 60 "General Representatives", who, together with the members of the Synod were to select the Archbishop. But the defeated "Kyrenia party" attempted to upset the results by objecting to the election of the Representatives of the "Kition party" before the Holy Synod which was to be the reviewing body. The 46 General Representatives of the "Kition party" objected to the adjudication by the Holy Synod on the grounds that all members of the Synod had taken an active part in the elections and could not, therefore, be impartial. Meanwhile another two members of the Synod died, and the bishop of Kition withdrew from it, so that no quorum of the Synod was possible.[19]

The bishop of Kition and his 46 General Representatives appealed to the Oecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, and the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem to send representatives to Cyprus in order to form a provisional Synod to check the election results, and generally conclude the matter. The bishop of Kyrenia and the members of the Cyprus Synod at first rejected the intervention of the "sister Churches", but they finally also referred the matter to them, giving their own account of the dispute. The Patriarchs did send a number of representatives to Cyprus, who tried to mediate between the factions, but to no avail. The dispute dragged on for years causing great damage to the Church. Accusations of heresy were brought against the bishop of Kyrenia. His supporters in turn accused the bishop of Kition of a number of ecclesiastical offences, including that of "freemasonry". In 1906 the "Kition party" returned eight deputies in the elections for the Legislative Council, while the "Kyrenia party"

only one. The victorious "Kition party" then demanded the introduction of civil legislation to regularise the Archiepiscopal elections. But the "Kyrenia party" strongly objected to that suggestion. Towards the end of 1907 the pro-Kyrenia Synod summoned a meeting of sixty members of the "Kyrenia party", who, pretending to be the sixty elected General Representatives, drew up a petition asking the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria and Jerusalem, acting jointly or separately, to choose an Archbishop.[20]

In March 1908, the Oecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, acting on that petition, nominated the bishop of Kyrenia as Archbishop of Cyprus. The news raised a storm. A mob, composed of Kition supporters, besieged the Archbishopric in which the bishop of Kition and the Synod were lodging and threatened to destroy it if the enthronement went on. The High Commissioner proclaimed martial law in the capital, Nicosia, and used troops to maintain order.[21] In May 1908, the Legislative Council, which was dominated by the "Kition party", passed a law to regulate the election of an Archbishop. The law empowered the senior bishop of Cyprus to invite three prelates from the neighbouring Churches to form, in conjunction with the Cypriot bishops, an "Episcopal Synod", and proceed with the election.[22] The bishop of Kition then, as the senior of the two bishops, invited three prelates from the Patriarchate of Alexandria, who were favourable to his candidature, and in April 1909 he was selected to the Archbishop's throne as Cyrillos II. His rival continued to bear the title of Archbishop until March 1910 when an agreement was reached and he made his submission to Archbishop Cyrillos II. Ecclesiastical unity was re-established.[23]

This undignified Church struggle had had a serious effect on the town schools and rendered further educational legislation

necessary. Until 1905 the town schools, both primary and secondary, were controlled by the "Town School Committees". A Town School Committee consisted of the Bishop of the Diocese as chairman, and six members elected by the local Assembly. Until 1900 the chairman of the Town School Committee of Nicosia was Archbishop Sophronios. After his death the pro-Kyrenia Holy Synod authorised the incumbent members of the Committee to continue until the election of the new Archbishop. The members of the Committee belonged to the "Kyrenia party", and as such were unacceptable to the bishop of Kition. The bishop of Kition and the majority of the Greek members of the Legislative Council (who belonged to his party) demanded that the town schools should be brought under the provisions of the Education Law of 1895. Being the strongest party in Cyprus, they were confident that popular elections for school committees would favour their party. In that way the "Education Law of 1905" (Law 5/1905) was enacted.[24]

According to the Education Law of 1905, which was concerned with primary education only, the Bishop of a Diocese or his representative was to perform the same duties assigned to a Mukhtar in the case of a Village Committee of Education, that is to summon an assembly of the citizens of the town every two years, and preside over the elections of a Town Committee of Education. The law also provided that the results of the elections were to be communicated by the Bishop of the Diocese, who was to be the ex-officio chairman of the Committee, to the Commissioner of the district, not later than seven days from the date of the meeting. If no Committee was elected or no report was received as specified by the law, the Commissioner of the District was to have the right to summon a meeting of the District Committee of Education to select five of the tax-paying inhabitants of the town to form the Town Committee of Education, under the presidency of the

Bishop.[25]

The application of the Education Law of 1905 produced another dispute. The first elections of the Town Committee of Education of Nicosia were held in 1905 under the presidency of Archimandrite Philotheos, and they were won by the "Kyrenia party" which was strong in that town. But Archimandrite Philotheos failed to notify the Commissioner of Nicosia of the results of the elections. Consequently the Commissioner of Nicosia summoned the District Committee of Education of Nicosia to select a Town Committee of Education. They selected a committee which belonged to the rival "Kition party". In that way the ecclesiastical dispute was transferred into educational matters. The "Kyrenia party" took the case to the courts and the famous "Trial of the Schools" followed. The case was pursued up to the High Court and the Privy Council and great damage was done to the schools. For over three years the Colonial Government did not allocate any grant-in-aid to either of the rival Committees, pending the legal outcome of the dispute, and did not collect any school fees for the primary schools of the town of Nicosia. In 1907 another law, the "Education Laws Amendment Law of 1907" (Law 7/1907) was passed, whereby the meeting for the election of a Town Committee of Education was to be under the direction of the District Commissioner, and the results were to be afterwards communicated by him to the bishop of the Diocese. In that way the administration of the town primary schools was formalised.[26]

In summary, the educational scene during the period 1895 to 1907 is marked with examples illustrating a conflict between tradition and efficiency in the administration of education. The new principles introduced in the administration of education were fundamentally principles of modern western government. Their effect on primary

education was very beneficial. They resulted in a systematisation, formalisation and legalisation of existing practices and in the establishment of an interconnected administrative hierarchy. The dispute over the control of schools, between rival school committees, during the Archiepiscopal question, shows how much a formal administrative hierarchy was necessary.

4.1.3 Qualifications, Appointments and Salaries of Primary School Teachers

The qualifications necessary for those who would serve as primary school teachers, the manner of their appointment and the payment of their salaries were also regulated by the "Education Law of 1895" (Law 18/1895). By the same law the "Schoolmasters' Qualification Law of 1892" (Law 7/1892) was repealed. Minor changes were later introduced by the "Education Amendment Law of 1897" (Law 14/1897) and the "Education Law of 1905" (Law 5/1905).[27]

A Board of Examiners was to be appointed from time to time by the High Commissioner to examine such persons as might apply to be examined "with a view to testifying their general knowledge and competency to teach according to the new teaching method".[28] Those successful in this examination were to be classified by the Board of Examiners in three classes, of which the first class was to be the highest. This distinction was in the main honorary since the salary of a school teacher was negotiated between the individual teacher and a School Committee and was not necessarily fixed with reference to the class of certificate he or she held. The names of those who were successful in the examination were to be reported to and registered by the Inspector of Schools, and certificates were to be issued to them "under the hands of the Examining Board and of the Inspector of Schools

that they were duly qualified."[29]

A holder of a diploma or certificate testifying that he had passed through the full course of education in the training branch of the Pancyprian Gymnasium, or at some other recognised Training School for Teachers was to be exempted from the examination by the Board of Examiners. His classification and his certification as a duly qualified teacher was to be done by the same Board, according to the scholastic achievement recorded in his graduation certificate. Those teachers of the second or third class who wished to be promoted to a higher class might apply to be re-examined, after the lapse of at least two years from their previous examination.[30]

For 15 to 20 years after the Education Law of 1895 came into operation, the supply of young qualified teachers from the Normal Schools was "scarcely adequate to meet the demand", because "the salaries usually offered were not large enough to attract able men" to the profession.[31] According to the law, teachers were to continue to be appointed by the Village (or Town) Committees of Education. The salary of a teacher was to be made up of two parts: a "fixed salary" locally recovered, and a government "grant-in-aid". The amount of the "fixed salary", agreed between the individual teacher and a local Committee of Education, was to be recovered through local taxation of the community or communities interested in a given primary school. The local Committee of Education was to apportion the amount of the "fixed salary" of the teacher(s) of their school, and if they so wished an amount for rent, furniture or maintenance of the school building, among the church or churches of the community and all the resident tax-paying Greek Cypriot inhabitants of the community, according to the means of each person. The amount so apportioned was to be known as "school fees" and was subject to appeal. On the approval of the list of the

school fees by the District Committee of Education, they were to be collected by the government tax-collector, like all the other taxes during the year. In the meantime the Government was to advance the sum for rent, furniture or maintenance of the school building to the local Committee of Education if they had apportioned such an amount in the school fees, and pay the teachers their "fixed salary" in five bi-monthly installments.[32]

The government "grant-in-aid" to a teacher was to be paid to him in two installments, in the same manner as his "fixed salary". The total sum of the grant-in-aid to schools was to be voted yearly in the Estimates, out of the general taxation of the island. It was to be apportioned by the Inspector of Schools among the prescribed schools, according to the condition and progress of each school as ascertained through his inspections, and on consideration of the recommendations of the District Committee concerned. The grant-in-aid to a school was made up of a grant to the teacher(s) of that school, and possibly a grant-in-aid for rent, furniture or maintenance of the school building. Only schools which employed qualified teachers, as defined by the Education Law of 1895, were to receive a grant towards the teachers' salaries and other expenses.[33]

Comparing the arrangements introduced by the Education Law of 1895 for the certification, appointment and payment of teachers to those used earlier, one can again see an improvement: a formalisation of existing practices and a movement towards a more efficient state of affairs. The effect of these arrangements was very beneficial; it raised the professional and social status of the teachers as well as the academic work of the primary schools.

4.2 The Normal Schools (Didaskaleia)

Those who taught in the primary schools of Cyprus during the last fifty years of the Turkish Rule and the early years of the British Administration were mostly professionally untrained and unqualified. According to Spencer, the first Inspector of Schools, there were in Cyprus in 1892 only five professionally trained primary schoolmasters out of a total of 268 then serving in the Greek Cypriot primary schools.[34] They had been trained at the Teachers' Training College of Athens, where they had been taught the "new method" of teaching, which according to Spencer was similar to the "object lesson" used in English schools at that time. Spencer was emphasising annually, in report after report, that the greatest need, after the proper management of the primary school system, was "a course of instruction in the art of teaching for those who wished to become school-masters."[35]

The first official attempt to regularise and raise the qualifications of teachers was the "School-masters' Qualifications Law of 1892" (Law 7/1892). The law demanded of the new entrants to the profession a diploma from one of the secondary schools of the island and a certificate testifying that they had been present, for at least three months, at a course of lessons given according to the "new teaching method" in one of the elementary public schools of the island. The law also required that the existing masters of elementary schools should attend the same course of lessons for at least one month.[36]

Spencer arranged that the five schoolmasters who had qualified in Athens would instruct their colleagues, during the month of September 1892, in the "new method of teaching". Many of the 268 teachers serving in the 223 primary schools of the island, attended that one-month "course", and were in that way certificated. During the

academic year 1892-93 three of those teachers who had qualified in Athens were appointed as "travelling teachers" to instruct the other teachers on matters of methodology in their own school-rooms.[37] The same arrangements were repeated in September 1893 and during the academic years of 1893-94 and 1894-95. In that way a kind of in-service training for primary school teachers was provided.[38]

The actual training of teachers was not considered a responsibility of the Colonial Government in the early years of the British Administraton. Writing in his Annual Report of 1892, the High Commissioner of Cyprus was confident that "if it were sought to establish in Cyprus a school for systematic instruction in the art of teaching, the materials for such an institution would probably be found in one or other of the existing high schools".[39] Towards the end of 1893 the "Pankyprion Didaskaleion" (Pancyprian Normal School) was established in Nicosia, as a section of the Pancyprian Gymnasium, which henceforth undertook the pre-service training of primary school teachers. Two other schools were later involved in the pre-service training of primary school teachers. They were, since 1903, the "Didaskaleion Phaneromenēs" (Phaneromeni Normal School for Mistresses) in Nicosia, as an integral part of the Phaneromeni School for Girls, and, since 1917, the "Pankyprion Ierodidaskaleion" (Pancyprian Theological and Teacher Training Seminary) in Larnaca.

These three institutions were recognised by the Cyprus Government as "Training Schools for Teachers". Pre-service training of primary school teachers was legally sanctioned by the Education Law of 1895, and later by the Education Law of 1905 by requiring all new teachers to hold a diploma from one of the existing Normal Schools or from some other "Training School for Teachers" recognised by the Greek Cypriot Board of Education.[40] Although all three institutions were

recognised as "Training Schools for Teachers", they were very distinct in academic character, organisation and ethos. For this reason they are described separately in the account that follows. A description of a pre-service training course in Agriculture for teachers, that was run for some time at the Agricultural College of Nicosia, is also included.

4.2.1 The Pancyprian Normal School (1893-1935)

The Pancyprian Gymnasium, together with the Pancyprian Normal School incorporated in it, was an upgrading of the existing "Hellenic School" of Nicosia. That hellenic school was originally established in 1812, closed down in 1821, and re-established in 1830. Like the other two hellenic schools, in Larnaca and Limassol, it did not offer a full secondary education course. In 1879, the first year of the British Administration, the Hellenic School of Nicosia was a "semi-gymnasium", or what might today be called lower secondary school, offering a four-year course of which the first year was in essence a "preparatory" year.[41] In 1888 the course was increased to five years, "that is, it was by two years less than that offered in the full gymnasia of Greece", which were then seven-year schools.[42]

In May 1893, Archbishop Sophronios convened a meeting of interested people at the Archbishopric and they decided to set up a Gymnasium "offering the same course as the gymnasia in Greece".[43] A School Committee, presided over by the Archbishop, was set up at that meeting to promote their decision. The Committee collected the necessary money from several sources, appointed the headmaster and the other teaching staff of the Gymnasium and applied to the Greek Government for recognition of the Pancyprian Gymnasium as equivalent to those functioning in mainland Greece.[44] The first headmaster of the

Gymnasium drew up a syllabus which was later forwarded to the Greek Ministry of Education for the purpose of recognising the school. It provided for "seven classes on the basis of a four-year primary school".[45] The Greek Ministry of Education recognised the Pancyprian Gymnasium and "instructed the Rector of Athens University to accept for registration in the university those applicants who were holders of the leaving certificate of the Pancyprian Gymnasium, without any further entrance examinations".[46]

The syllabus of the Pancyprian Gymnasium included the teaching of "Paedagogics" in the last two years, so as to satisfy "the need for professionally trained primary school teachers".[47] On this basis, the School Committee of the Gymnasium applied to the Colonial Government of Cyprus for a grant.[48] The reaction of the Government was favourable and an annual grant of £100 was given to the school.[49] Two years later, in 1895, the government grant to the Pancyprian Gymnasium was increased to £200.[50] When the Education Amendment Law of 1897 came into operation this grant was supplemented through a provision in that law, by an additional 5 per cent on the amount assessed upon each Greek Cypriot taxpayer for the support of the elementary schools of the island. That amount was collected by the government tax-collectors and paid half-yearly to the support of the Pancyprian Gymnasium and the Normal School incorporated therein. About £175 was obtained annually in the early years of the collection of this tax. During the same time the total annual expenditure on the maintenance of the school as a whole was around £1,400.[51]

In addition to the financial support, the Colonial Government took two other measures in legal and moral support of the Pancyprian Normal School. By the Education Law of 1895 the Government recognised by name the "diploma of the training branch of the Cyprus

Gymnasium" as sufficient qualification for appointment of its holders as teachers in schools eligible for grants-in-aid.[52] The High Commissioner also appointed some of the staff of the Pancyprian Gymnasium as members of the Board of Examiners who were to test the competency of those who were not graduates of the Pancyprian Normal School and, according to the Education Law of 1895, were to apply to be examined in order to be certified as teachers.[53]

During the first three academic years, 1893-96, the Pancyprian Normal School was simply a branch of the Pancyprian Gymnasium offering a two-year course which was concurrent with the upper two classes of the classical gymnasium section. The subjects taught in the educational section of the school were the same as those of the classical section, plus the subject of "Paedagogics" which was taught by the headmaster himself, who had studied education in Switzerland.[54]

During the period 1896 to 1915, the Pancyprian Normal School, although incorporated in the Gymnasium structure, provided a longer course. The division of the school into sections - classical and paedagogical - "began from the last year of the Gymnasium proper and a further year was added for those who were prepared to become primary school teachers".[55] During that period the classical gymnasium section was made up of "six classes and was based on a six-year primary school".[56]

During the first year of the course of the Pancyprian Normal School the students were taught "the same subjects as the pupils of the classical section of the Gymnasium, save Latin, French and Trigonometry". Instead of these subjects they were taught their specialist subject of "Paedagogics" and they devoted more time in the study of "technical subjects", such as Handicraft, Physical Education,

Music, Calligraphy and Free-hand Sketching.[57] The subject of "Paedagogics" was taught for 3 periods per week, and included an introduction to the theory of education, general and special methods, and observation of demonstration lessons at model schools.[58]

During the second year of the course of the Pancyprian Normal School the emphasis on "technical subjects", such as Handicraft, Physical Education, Music, Agriculture, Hygiene and Commercial Arithmetic, was continued. The subject of "Paedagogics" was taught for 10 periods per week out of a total of 41.[59] Out of these 10 periods, 4 periods were devoted to the subjects of Theory of Education, History of Education and Educational Legislation, and the other 6 periods were devoted to "Teaching Exercises and Paedagogical Conferences". These teaching exercises were of the type of the formal "criticism lesson", and they were prescribed in detail in the statute of the Pancyprian Normal School.[60] One of the classes of a model elementary school of the town of Nicosia was taught by a student, in the presence of the professor of Paedagogy, and the remaining students listened with a view to future discussion under the guidance of that professor.[61] Special qualifications were required of the professor of Paedagogy. He was required to have a doctorate from a University School of Philosophy and "special training and experience in Paedagogy and Teaching Exercises".[62] All the subjects taught at the Pancyprian Normal School, and the relative emphasis placed on them, are shown in Appendix A.2.

The entrants to the first year of the Pancyprian Normal School were required to hold a "certificate of promotion from the fifth to the sixth class of the Pancyprian Gymnasium" or of an equivalent school, but no further selection was envisaged.[63] The examinations for promotion from the first to the second year of the Pancyprian Normal School were exactly the same as those for the classical section of the

Gymnasium, save in the specialist subjects taught in the training section.[64] The final examinations of the second year of the Pancyprian Normal School were "written, practical and oral".[65] Those graduating from the Normal School with "excellent" marks were placed in the "first class" of teachers, those with "very good" marks in the "second class" and those with "good" marks in the "third class".[66] Serving teachers who applied to be examined by the Board of Examiners, constituted according to the Education Law of 1895, with a view to being promoted to a higher class, were required to take the same examinations as those for the graduating students of the Pancyprian Normal School.[67]

The undignified church dispute of 1900 to 1910, known as the "Archiepiscopal Question", had a serious effect on the work of the Pancyprian Normal School. As explained earlier, the application of the Education Law of 1905 led to two rival School Committees in Nicosia, one controlled by the "Kyrenia Party" and another controlled by the "Kition Party". During the period of 1908 to 1911 the Pancyprian Gymnasium and Normal School was "divided" into two separate schools. The "Kyrenia school", situated at the old building, opposite the Archbishopric, was controlled by the "Kyrenia School Committee" and attended by pupils and students belonging to that party. The "Kition school", situated outside the walls of Nicosia, was controlled by the "Kition School Committee" and attended by pupils and students belonging to that party. After the solution of the "Archiepiscopal Question", in 1910, the division continued for a year, until the Greek Government threatened to withdraw the recognition of both schools. In 1911 both School Committees were dissolved, both headmasters left, and the school was reunited in the old building.[68]

In 1915 the course of the Pancyprian Normal School was extended downwards to become a three-year course. By those

arrangements the division into classical and paedagogical sections started a year earlier, that is after the end of the fourth year rather than of the fifth year, as was done previously. In that way the subject of "Paedagogics" and the "practical subjects" were given more prominence in the curriculm of the Pancyprian Normal School. That change was in line with the changes already effected in Greece.[69] In 1920 the school buildings of the Pancyprian Gymnasium and Normal School caught fire and were completely destroyed. The school was later rebuilt in the same place.[70] In 1922 the Pancyprian Normal School was physically moved to another building, under the principalship of the "Professor of Paedagogy", but the course remained the same as before. Three years later the Normal School was again physically united to the Pancyprian Gymnasium.[71]

In the 1920's the supply of trained primary school teachers from the three Normal Schools of the island often exceeded the demand of the school system. Graduates from these training schools often had to wait four or five years before being appointed to a teaching post. The problem was often discussed by the Nicosia School Committee but no radical measures were ever taken. However changes in the course offered were made, especially in line with those effected in Greece. In 1931 the Pancyprian Normal School was reorganised to extend downwards, and comprise a five-years' course running concurrently with the top four classes of the Gymnasium and extending one year further. In other words, a boy entering the Pancyprian Gymnasium decided after two years whether to continue in the ordinary classical gymnasium course for a further four years or to enter the training branch of the school and remain in it for five years. With the new arrangements, students obtained practical experience of teaching at the elementary schools of Nicosia during their last two years of training.[72]

After functioning for 42 years, the Pancyprian Normal School was abolished as a branch of the Pancyprian Gymnasium in 1935. On the one hand there was an oversupply of primary school teachers; on the other, the Colonial Government stopped the grant hitherto paid to the school, ceased recognising the Pancyprian Normal School as a teacher training institution and thereafter made its own arrangements for the professional training of primary school teachers.[73]

4.2.2 The Phaneromeni Normal School for Mistresses (1903-1937)

The Pancyprian Normal School trained male primary school teachers only. Female primary school teachers were trained at the Phaneromeni Normal School for Mistresses, in Nicosia, which was an integral part of the Phaneromeni Girls' School. The Phaneromeni Girls' School was established in 1859 as a nursery and primary school for girls. In 1895 it extended its work further so as to comprise in addition a lower secondary school, under the same headmistress.[74]

In 1903 the school undertook the professional training of schoolmistresses, but the total duration of the education of the future schoolmistresses was two years shorter than that provided at the Pancyprian Normal School. The structure of the Phaneromeni Girls' School was described in the "Talbot and Cape Report" in the following way:

> "The Phaneromeni School provides education for girls from the age of four to sixteen, and includes an infant division, an elementary school for children between the ages of six and twelve, two secondary classes for girls of twelve to fourteen, and three training classes, out of which the girls pass in their eighteenth year. The school is now recognised by the Greek Government as equivalent to the Training Schools for Girls at Athens."[75]

During the period 1903 to 1915 the Phaneromeni Normal School

for Mistresses offered a three-year course which was preceded by a six-year primary and two-year secondary general education. There was no classical section as in the Pancyprian Gymnasium. Entrance to the training classes was by simple promotion from the last year of the two-year lower secondary section of the school.[76] Talbot and Cape, who reported on Cypriot education in 1913, described the work of the Phaneromeni Normal School for Mistresses in the following way:

> "In the Phaneromeni School the course ranges over a very wide variety of subjects. It includes two foreign languages, English and French, each of which receives only two hours a week; and a little time is also found for such purely academic branches of study as Philosophy and the History of Art. On the other hand, a comparatively large proportion of time is devoted to needlework and dressmaking, and in the higher classes one hour a week is given to domestic subjects, which include cookery and laundry work.
>
> The programme of studies seems to us to be a somewhat unsatisfactory compromise between the requirements of a secondary school and those of a training college for elementary school mistresses, but we recognise that it could be altered only by some arrangement with the Greek Government, designed to meet the special needs of Cyprus."[77]

Nevertheless, the Cyprus Government, being anxious to promote education for girls, recognised by name, through the Education Law of 1905, the graduates of the Phaneromeni Normal School for Mistresses as sufficiently qualified to be certificated without any further examination.[78] In addition the Colonial Government made an annual grant of £100 to the school in consideration of its services in training primary school mistresses.[79] That grant was supplemented through a provision of the Education Law of 1905, by an amount commensurate to the number of mistresses in training at the school. The law authorised a 5 per cent levy on the amount assessed on each Greek Cypriot taxpayer for the support of the elementary schools throughout the island. It was collected by the Government tax-collectors, like all other taxes, and was paid half-yearly to the

support of those schools which had been declared by the Board of Education to be public secondary schools.[80] According to the Talbot and Cape Report, the total expenditure of the secondary and training portions of the Phaneromeni Girls' School for the school-year 1912-13 was £244. Towards this expenditure the Government gave a grant of £100, school fees raised £60, and the remainder (£84) was derived from the 5 per cent levy just mentioned.[81]

As it was the case with the Pancyprian Normal School, during the period 1908 to 1911 the Phaneronemi Girls' School, as a result of the "Archiepiscopal Question", was divided into two schools, controlled by rival School Committees; but they both followed the same syllabus.[82] The two schools were reunited in 1911. During the period 1915 to 1931 the Phaneromeni Normal School for Mistresses continued to offer a three-year training course, but the duration of the prerequisite lower secondary education of the would-be schoolmistresses was changed from two to three years. In 1931 it was completely re-organised, exactly like the Pancyprian Normal School, to comprise a five-year course, after two years of lower secondary education. With the new arrangements, students were obtaining practical experience of teaching at the primary section of the school during their last two years of training.[83]

After functioning for 34 years the Phaneromeni Normal School for Mistresses closed down in 1937, just like the Pancyprian Normal School two years earlier. Henceforth the secondary section of the Phaneromeni Girls' School became a classical one.[84] The reasons for the closure were the oversupply of teachers and, more importantly, the decision of the Colonial Government to make its own arrangements for the professional training of primary school mistresses, and thereby to stop recognising the School as a teacher training institution.[85]

4.2.3. The Pancyprian Theological and Teacher Training Seminary (1917-1932)

The Pancyprian Theological and Teacher Training Seminary was an upgrading of the Theological Seminary of Larnaca, established in 1910 by Meletios Metaxakis, bishop of Kition and later Oecumenical Patriarch.[86] The Seminary was originally intended to train priests, and offered a three-year course of general and theological education. Three years later, in 1913, its course was extended to six years. In 1915 the Seminary was recognised by the Greek Government as equivalent to the theological seminaries in Greece.[87] It was then common practice in Greece that graduates of theological seminaries could be also employed as teachers of elementary schools, especially in small villages. The Governing Body of the Seminary applied to the Board of Education, and through them to the Government asking that the school should be recognised as a teacher training institution. As from 1917, the High Commissioner "on the advice of the Greek Board of Education recognised the Seminary as a training school for elementary school teachers", under the provisions of the Education Law of 1905.[88]

The Pancyprian Theological and Teacher Training Seminary was entrusted by its founder to the Holy Synod of the Church of Cyprus, which became the highest authority responsible for its management. Every two years the Holy Synod appointed a Governing Body, which was vested with executive power regarding the Seminary.[89] The Seminary was a boarding school and the students had to pay boarding and tuition fees. The Church contributed towards the cost of running the school and the Cyprus Government gave an annual grant, in recognition of its contribution to the training of teachers.[90]

According to its statute, the Seminary aimed at "preparing its students to become priests and teachers, through the adequate

instruction in religious, paedagogical, general and technical subjects".[91] It was natural for a theological school preparing priests that the syllabus of the Seminary would be overloaded with theological teaching.[92] Thus the instruction on religious subjects during the last three years of the course amounted to 23 per cent, while that on educational subjects to 20 per cent (see Appendix A.3). But it was even expressed in the Statute of the Seminary that its "main aim was to prepare educated priests and their paedagogical training was subsidiary to it".[93] In pursuance of this objective the diploma of the Seminary was valid for 12 years only, except if the holder became a priest.[94]

The Principal of the Seminary was required to be a churchman with a university degree in Theology, having at least two years of teaching or preaching experience, and possibly a certificate in "Paedagogics" or "Philology".[95] The subject of "Paedagogics" was taught during the last three years of the course and included Educational Psychology, Teaching Methods with demonstration lessons, General Paedagogics, History of Education, Educational Legislation and Teaching Exercises.[96]

An important provision of the statute of the Seminary was that the entrants should come from all districts and from all the villages of Cyprus, as far as possible. This provision was obviously aimed at staffing the villages with educated priests, but it meant that the place of residence was a more important qualification for entrance than academic attainment. The graduates of the Seminary were classified into three classes according to their academic attainment.[97]

After the October 1931 revolt, in which the Cyprus Church played a prominent part, the Cyprus Government stopped appointing any priest-teachers and cancelled the recognition of the Pancyprian Theological and Teacher Training Seminary as a Normal School. As a

result the Seminary closed down in June 1932.[98]

4.2.4 The Agricultural College (1930-1931)

Talbot and Cape, the education experts who visited Cyprus in 1913 and reported on the educational problems of the island, were frequently urged by many people concerned with education to direct their attention to the character of the work being carried out in the schools. In particular they were asked to suggest some means of making the instruction given in the schools of Cyprus more practical, and the underlying assumption was that this could best be done by adding to the curriculum subjects with an agricultural bias, such as gardening and kindred subjects. For an agricultural country like Cyprus that innovation seemed obvious and long overdue. But, as the experts pointed out in their report, the real problem in introducing agricultural subjects into the curriculum was how to obtain a sufficiency of teachers adequately qualified for such work. They suggested two ways of achieving this, which could be tried concurrently. One of them was to institute summer courses to be given by the instructors of the Agricultural College, and held at the College in Nicosia or at some other convenient local centre. The other was that the same instructors should visit selected elementary schools and give practical advice and encouragement to the teachers on the spot. A close co-operation between the Education and Agricultural Departments was also suggested in supervising the teaching of rural subjects in the schools.[99]

The suggestions of the two educational experts were put into full effect in the early 1930's. An Agricultural College was established in Nicosia in 1913 and elementary school teachers were

encouraged to attend short summer courses, of one to two weeks duration, at that College. Small numbers of teachers availed themselves of that opportunity in 1913, 1914 and 1917. However, a definite step towards a substantial course of agricultural training for schoolmasters was taken only in 1930 when there was an oversupply of teachers, and graduates from the Normal Schools often had to wait for four or five years before receiving an appointment. A scheme of full-time agricultural training of schoolmasters, according to a syllabus outlined by the Director of Agriculture and approved by the Greek Board of Education, was inaugurated in March 1930. The course lasted for six months, from March to September 1930, and it was attended by 148 candidate schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, that is graduates of the Normal Schools waiting to be appointed as teachers. The same course with some extensions to the syllabus was repeated in September 1930 and ran through to June 1931, that is it lasted for 9 months. It was then attended by 146 candidate teachers.

The lectures for these two courses were given by the instructors of the Agricultural College and technical officers of the Department of Agriculture. A syllabus and time-table was specially prepared by the Department of Agriculture for the requirements of these courses. Instruction was given in the following subjects: Agriculture, Botany, Mycology, Entomology, Animal Husbandry, Horticulture, Viticulture, Agricultural Economics, Sericulture and Forestry. All lectures were supplemented by practical demonstrations, and an area of land of about 13 acres was used as a demonstration field for practical work for the course. At the same time agricultural instruction was given by peripatetic instructors of the Department of Agriculture who visited selected elementary schools and gave practical advice and encouragement to school teachers and pupils. Demonstrational work was

carried out in the school gardens for pupils and teachers alike. These lectures and demonstrations were on various agricultural and kindred subjects, as applying to the local conditions and crops of the place in which the instruction was given. A scheme of prizes for school gardens was also put into operation and interest was maintained throughout the colonial years.[100]

The scheme of full-time training of teachers in agricultural subjects was an expensive enterprise and after two years it was discontinued. However, the interest in agricultural training of teachers was maintained through the Rural Central School attached to the Teachers' Training College at Morphou, which replaced the Normal Schools after 1937.

4.3 Conflict Over the Control of Primary School Teachers and Its Effect on Their Status

The establishment of the Pancyprian Normal School in 1893 and the enactment of the Education Law of 1895 proved to be landmarks in the educational history of Cyprus. The Pancyprian Normal School provided trained primary school teachers who gradually replaced the untrained ones, while the Education Law of 1895 provided for the necessary legal, administrative and financial matters. The primary school system was steadily expanding. While in the school-year 1895-96, the first year just before the education law was applied, only 9,120 pupils were in primary education, fifteen years later (1910-11) the number of pupils nearly trebled to 24,882. Correspondingly, the number of primary school teachers more than doubled (from 239 to 486) and the total cost of running the schools almost trebled (from £6,480 to £18,243). As the cost of running the primary schools increased the pressure on the Colonial Government for more funds in the form of

grants-in-aid also increased.[101]

Under the provisions of the Education Law of 1895, although a teacher's salary was paid to him directly by the Government it was in fact made up of a government "grant-in-aid" and a "salary" fixed by an agreement between himself and the local Committee of Education, and locally recovered. Teachers were appointed by the local Committees of Education, and since these Committees were themselves elected annually[102], and the elections often turned on questions of politics foreign to education, constant change of teachers was the natural result. Writing on the system of education in Cyprus in the year 1902, the Inspector of Schools had this to say in a major report:

> "The beginning of the school year witnesses a general system of intrigue and haggling for salaries between masters and villages, injurious to the interests of the masters, whose under-bidding of one another for desirable posts in the neighbourhood of their own homes has, in one case at least, reduced the salary actually given [to] as low as £4 10s. for the year, the education of the children being thrown [in the] meantime into the melting pot.
>
> If in this game of general post, a village fails to secure a master for its school before the 25th August in each year, the District Committee is then empowered to supply the deficiency. At present about 75 per cent of the teachers are appointed by the Village Committees, 20 per cent by the District Committees, before the commencement of the school year, leaving about 5 per cent to be found in some way or another after considerable delay. Some schools thus remain unopened for two or three months, and a few fail altogether owing to some of the masters retiring in disgust to other occupations."[103]

Not only was there insecurity of tenure and dependence of salaries on the supply of teachers and on the mutual under-bidding, but often reduction of salaries for all teachers for an additional reason. As the number of schools increased without a corresponding increase in the amount available for grants-in-aid provided in the Estimates, the emoluments of the teachers decreased. By the academic year 1910-11 "the supply of trained primary school teachers was overtaking demand and the Board of Education was consequently discouraging the employment

of uncertificated teachers".[104] As the body of the teachers became more or less homogeneous, they began to exert pressure on the Authorities, in order to change the situation. In 1907 they formed the "Nicosia Teachers' Union" and in 1911 the "Pancyprian Teachers' Union", and demanded security of tenure, increased salaries and a pension scheme; they even threatened to go on strike.[105]

The Greek Members of the Legislative Council responded to these pressures, especially from 1907 onwards, and they demanded from the Government, initially an increase in the grants-in-aid, and later that the whole educational expenditure should be borne by the Government and levied through indirect taxation.[106] Both the Colonial Government and the British Government were at first responsive to these demands. In the school year 1906-7 the annual grant was increased by £500, representing an increase of 25 per cent. The same increase of £500 was effected in each of the following three years.[107]

However, in 1910 the Secretary of State for the Colonies refused to sanction any further increase in the grants for primary schools without an independent inquiry.[108] A proposal put forward by the Greek Members of the Legislative Council crystallised in the demand that the people should be entirely relieved of any direct financial responsibility for the maintenance of the primary schools, but should at the same time retain the direct control and management of these schools, vested in them under the existing educational legislation. This demand was first put forward, by implication, in a resolution passed by the Legislative Council in their session of 1909, requesting that a fund should be established for providing pensions for schoolmasters and recommending the appointment of a Commission "to consider the best way of instituting a pension fund, as well as the commutation of the school taxation".[109]

The Secretary of State was prepared to arrange for an inquiry on the clear understanding that increased Government aid should involve some increase of control over teachers. Eventually two educational experts, J. E. Talbot and F. W. Cape, were sent to Cyprus in 1913 to look into the problems of finance and the question of administration and control over schools and teachers.

4.3.1 The Report of the Two Educational Experts (1913)

The two experts emphasised in their report that the Government was dissatisfied with the existing method of appointing teachers for educational, political and administrative reasons. As they pointed out,

> "The defects of the administrative system ... do impair the efficiency of the teaching in the schools ... . The fact that teachers, owing to the conditions of their appointment, frequently spend no more than a year in their posts makes it difficult, if not impossible, for inspectors to fasten the responsibility for bad work at any particular time on any one teacher. Again, the insecurity of their tenure and their dependence on the favour of the dominating faction in their village or town have an unsettling effect on the teachers and distract their minds from their duties in school."[110]

There were also political reservations. The Colonial Government realised that the teacher, as he was often the best educated person in the village, acquired considerable influence over the people, and was often involved in political activities against the Government. These antigovernment activities were a manifestation of the "enosis" movement, i.e. the movement for union with Greece, and in this sense the issue of the control of teachers was vitally important both to the Government and to the leaders of the movement. The two experts noted in their report that the Greek leaders spoke frankly on this matter and did not try to evade the issue:

> "We were assured over and over again that the Greeks would sooner dispense with state aid altogether than surrender to an alien Government the control of the teachers which they have always, alike under Turkish and British rule, and which they deem to be vital to their political aspirations. Mr. Theodotou, who is perhaps the most prominent, and certainly one of the ablest Greeks in Cyprus, put this point to us with uncompromising candour at our last conference with the Greek Board of Education: 'We cannot deny', he said, 'that school teachers are factors in the country, socially and politically. No one could deny this, or that the teachers have helped us in our controversies with the Government. They have, for instance, helped to bring about the reduction of the tribute to Turkey, and there are other subjects in which we are still at variance with the Government. They have in this way educated the people in fighting for their political rights. The teachers in our hands are a weapon difficult to fight against, and we don't want to hand them over to the Government'."[111]

The administrative shortcomings of the existing structure were also considerable as regards the control by the Government of its own grants-in-aid. On reviewing the existing administrative arrangements, the two experts pointed to a curious characteristic of the educational system in Cprus. While the administrative control was distributed among the three popularly elected authorities constituted by law, no one of them was held explicitly responsible, under the terms of any statute for the efficiency of the teaching given in the schools. The Village Committees, by virtue of their power to appoint and dismiss teachers and fix their salaries could, if they chose, exercise many important functions of management and control. But the reports of the Government inspectors were not formally communicated to them and they were, therefore, left unaided in forming their judgement about his work. The Village Committees were not legally required to assess the quality of the work done in the schools. The District Committees could interfere only if a village failed to carry out its statutory duties, which did not include the supervision of the work or conduct of their teacher(s). The Board of Education, which formally received the reports of the Government inspectors, could recommend to the Government

what the amount of Government grant to each school (that is to each teacher) should be. But in practice, although the Government implicitly possessed the legal power to disregard their recommendations, to avoid friction, only exceptionally did they exercise this power. As the experts pointed out, it had proved plainly impossible for the Inspector of Schools to effect any reduction in the grant of a school in the face of opposition by the Board of Education. In that way, there was no control of the quality of teaching.[112]

The two experts also identified three other educational defects of the existing system of primary education in Cyprus. A most conspicuous one was the excessive size of classes and the absence of any prescribed limit to the number of children who might be taught by any one teacher. They recommended an upper limit of sixty pupils per teacher. They also noted that almost half of the children attending primary schools were those in the lowest class, and that they were usually receiving little attention from the teacher, who naturally devoted the greater part of his time and energy to the older pupils. As a result most of the children had to spend two and sometimes three years in the lowest class. To remedy that state of things, the experts recommended in their report that wherever the number of children under eight years of age, corresponding roughly to the two lower classes, was thirty or more, a separate department of the school should be established, preferably under a schoolmistress. Another shortcoming was the small proportion of girls in attendance at the elementary schools of the island. As a rule, parents were unwilling to send their daughters after the age of eight or nine to a mixed school under a master. To remedy this social and educational problem, the experts again suggested that, whenever the number of girls on the rolls of a school were more than thirty, a separate school should be provided for

them under a schoolmistress. In other words, more money was suggested to be spent in order to improve the educational provision, i.e. to employ more teachers, so as to keep the class size below sixty pupils, and to make better provision for girls and for the youngest pupils.[113]

To eliminate the educational and administrative defects of the primary school system in Cyprus, the experts proposed two alternative schemes for readjusting the balance between the Government grants and the degree of control to be exercised by the Government and the popularly elected committees respectively.

According to the "first scheme" the Government was to pay the whole cost of teachers' salaries, school furniture, equipment, books and stationery, while the cost of the provision and maintenance of school buildings was to be met out of local funds. The Board of Education was to control the curriculum and the choice of books as it did previously. The Government was to have full control over the appointment and dismissal of teachers; their appointment was to be on a permanent basis, subject to good conduct and efficiency; and the Government was to have the power to make such deductions from their salaries as it might think proper, on educational grounds.[114]

If it was found impossible, either for the Government to pay the teachers' salaries entirely out of the Revenue, or for the Greek Cypriots to accept such a measure of control over the teachers, the experts proposed a "second scheme". According to this scheme the Government was to pay half the cost of teachers' salaries and the whole cost of school furniture, equipment, books and stationery. The other half of the cost of teachers' salaries and the whole cost of the provision and maintenance of school buildings were to be met out of local funds raised by a rate on the immovable property of the community concerned. The Board of Education was to control the curriculum and

the choice of books as in the previous scheme. Primary school teachers were to be appointed by the Village Committees in the first instance, subject to confirmation by the respective District Committees. The appointments were to continue indefinitely, subject to good conduct and efficiency.

The experts were categorical that whatever portion of the teachers' salary was to be paid by the Government, it was essential that "the Government should have complete control of the money which it furnishes".[115] At the time of the Report (1913) the Government was paying about 25 per cent of the cost of teachers' salaries. The experts proposed that the Government grant-in-aid should be fixed "according to the condition and progress of each school as ascertained by periodical inspections". In that way the Government Education Department was to be held responsible for seeing that the work of schools was reasonably efficient, and the Government was to have powers to make such deductions from the grants as it might think proper on educational grounds.[116]

The experts proposed that a plebiscite should be taken of the taxpaying inhabitants in each village, town or municipality to decide whether they desired to accept the terms of the "first" or of the "second" scheme for the school(s) in their area. A three-fourths majority was to be required to signify acceptance of either scheme.[117] They also suggested some changes in the constitution of the local and regional Committees of Education. They suggested that the Village Commission, consisting of the "Mukhtar", i.e. head-man, and the four "azas", i.e. elders, who often were members of the Village Committee of Education, would also act as the Village Committee of Education. Similarly the "Medjliss Idare", i.e. District Administrative Councils, which exercised some functions in local administration, the experts

suggested, should perform the duties of the District Committees of Education.[118]

It is noteworthy that the two experts proposed security of tenure for the teachers under either scheme as well as control by the inspectors over the quality of their work. The Government was to have the power to make such deductions from the grant to a school (i.e. towards a teacher's salary) as it might consider fit on the grounds of teaching efficiency. But the experts also proposed incentives for the teachers. Instead of the existing classification of teachers into three classes, according to their attainment in an examination on graduation (or otherwise), the experts proposed a genuine classification of four grades of teachers. Grade IV was to be the grade of uncertificated teachers while grade III, the entry grade for holders of certificates recognised by the Education Law of 1905. Each grade, except grade IV, was to carry with it a graduated scale of salary, rising by annual increments. Placement on the entry scale (scale III) was to be according to the graduation marks of the holder. A holder of a teacher's certificate with "excellent marks" was to receive two extra increments on his starting salary, while a holder of a certificate with "very good marks" was to receive one extra increment. Promotion from a lower grade to a higher grade was open to all teachers who had received satisfactory reports upon their work and their conduct from the Education Department.[119] In addition the experts proposed a pension scheme for the teachers, a measure that would also have raised their status.[120]

The two experts also made certain recommendations on the training of elementary school teachers and on the subjects and methods used in schools, which will be referred to in a later section in this chapter. The Talbot and Cape Report formed the guide for the

educational policy of the Colonial Government in years to come. Their analysis was so penetrating and their recommendations so far-reaching that, when later applied, they changed the educational scene in Cyprus in a radical way. However, only few of their suggestions were accepted and adopted by the Government at once. Others were taken into consideration after the lapse of many years, in more propitious economic and political circumstances.

4.3.2 Creation of Conditions Favouring Change in 1923

The Talbot and Cape Report was laid before the Legislative Council in 1914, for their consideration. The stubborn refusal of the Greek Members of the Council to agree to some measure of control by the Colonial Government over the primary school teachers and the outbreak of World War I prevented any of its major recommendations from being put into effect. Pending some action, however, an annual increase of £500 to the grants-in-aid of primary education was sanctioned.[121] A major change came about ten years later, in 1923. A new education law, based to a large extent on the suggestions of the two educational experts, was passed by the Legislative Council. This was due to a major, but not permanent, change in the political representation of the people of Cyprus, a new situation in the economics of education in the island and pressures exerted by the primary school teachers themselves.

World War I raised the political aspirations of the Greek Cypriots. Turkey entered the war on the side of Germany and against Great Britain. On 5th November, 1914, the Cyprus Convention was unilaterally abrogated by Great Britain and Cyprus was annexed to the British Crown.[122] Most significantly, on 17th of November of the same year the British Government officially offered Cyprus to Greece,

provided that the latter would enter the war on the side of the Allies. The Greek Government, under Alexandros Zaimes, was unwilling to renounce the country's neutrality and refused the offer. Thereafter, the offer "lapsed" and was never repeated.[123] This incident vindicated the aspirations of the Greek Cypriots for "enosis" i.e. union with Greece, because it proved that "England was prepared to recognise that on national grounds the claims put forward" in the past that the island should be united with Greece "were not considered unjustifiable".[124]

After the war there was a resurgence of the nationalist movement in Cyprus. Meetings were held, memoranda and resolutions were issued and generally a politically active atmosphere was created. A deputation, consisting of the Archbishop of Cyprus and all but one of the Greek Members of the Legislative Council, went to London in January 1919 to place the demand for "enosis" before the British authorities. They petitioned the Government, were received by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, lobbied Members of Parliament and canvassed for their cause in the British press. After pursuing that mission for almost a year in London and Paris, often in close co-operation with the Greek deputation at the Paris peace negotiations, their efforts came to nothing and they returned home empty-handed. In the following year another deputation, made up of the Archbishop and four members of the Legislative Council, went to London and Paris on the same mission, but again their efforts were fruitless.[125]

On 4th December, 1920, a meeting of the nationalist leaders was held at the Archbishopric in Nicosia. The meeting, made up of the members of the Holy Synod, past and present Greek Members of the Legislative Council and the mayors of the six towns, adopted an "opposition policy" towards the Colonial Government. It resolved to create a supreme political body, called "The Cyprus Political

Organisation", on which all sections of the Greek Cypriot population were to be represented. The meeting decided that all nine elected Greek Members of the Legislative Council would resign their seats; they did that four days later. In the by-election of January 1921 all the former nine members were returned unopposed; but they followed a policy of abstention from the proceedings of the Council until its normal five-year term expired in October 1921.[126]

The "opposition policy" initiated by the Cyprus Political Organisation was not without its difficulties. There were advantages and disadvantages which were widely discussed in the local press. The abstentionists, writing mainly in the Nicosia newspaper "Eleftheria", emphasised that sacrifices in economic interests and local liberties were to be expected from a struggle for freedom.[127] The anti-abstentionists, writing mainly in the Limassol newspapers "Alētheia" and "Kēryx", emphasised that being absent from the Legislative Council was a failure, since the Council continued to function (as there was no need for a quorum to transact business) and to pass bills injurious to the liberties and the economic interests of the people. From the rostrum of the Legislative Council, the argument continued, they could criticise the policies of the Government more effectively than by sending memorials to the Colonial Office, which were almost always turned down.[128]

In a sense the anti-abstentionists had concrete examples to support their argument, one of which was the passing of a new education law for the Turkish Cypriots only. The Colonial Government wanted to combine in that law what was objectively useful with what was politically beneficial. The old problem of the inadequacy of the teachers' salaries had been made more severe by the wartime increases in the cost of living. Taxpayers were reluctant to pay higher

educational assessments to support the system of primary education and there were frequent objections to the arbitrary way of apportioning them. In September 1920, while only four Greek elected members were present in the Legislative Council - the others were taking part in the second deputation to London - the High Commissioner, Malcolm Stevenson, introduced the new education bill. According to its provisions, educational assessments were to be abolished and the teachers' salaries were to be paid from an Education Fund. One-half of the revenue of that Fund would come from higher property taxes and from increased taxes on sheep, goats and pigs; the other half would come from increased general indirect taxation. This was in fact the "second alternative scheme" proposed by Talbot and Cape in 1914. The appointment and transfer of primary school teachers were to be carried out by the Boards of Education, but the High Commissioner's approval would be necessary. The provisions of the bill were unacceptable to those four Greek members who were present in the Council.[129] It was immediately amended, and the British and Moslem members passed it as the "Elementary Education (other than Greek-Christian) Law of 1920" (Law 24/1920).[130]

This law was most injurious to the economic interests of the Greek Cypriots, turned the economics of education upside down for them and created a pressure to accept the provisions of the law in 1923. The operation of the primary schools of the Turkish Cypriots, who were about 20 per cent of the population, depended on the Government's payment of half the costs, using the proceeds of new indirect taxes imposed on all Cypriots.[131] By being made to pay those taxes, the Greek Cypriots were in effect subsidising the Turkish Cypriot schools. Speaking in the Legislative Council, the Turkish Cypriot delegate Irfan Bey frankly admitted that the law was highly profitable to his

community, calculating that about 40 per cent of the Turkish Cypriot teachers' salaries was paid, through indirect taxation, by the Greek Cypriot taxpayers.[132] The pressure of the Turkish Cypriot example, even on simple economic terms, was an important factor in influencing the Greek Cypriots to accept similar arrangements for themselves three years later.

As stated earlier, the Greek Cypriot politicians and the press were divided on the application of the kind of "opposition policy" to be followed. The conflicting views on the tactics best suited to the promotion of the interests of the island were in part due to personal jealousies among the politicians. The Archbishop, well aware of the situation, took the initiative and through an "encyclical letter" convened a Pancyprian Assembly of the "Cyprus Political Organisation" on 23rd October 1921. That Assembly decided that the Greek Cypriots would abstain from the forthcoming elections for the Legislative Council. All the Greek Cypriots abstained, but two Maronites, a Suffragan Bishop and a priest, were nominated and elected in December 1921 to the Legislative Council.[133] The other seven seats were left vacant.

The abstention policy was successful up to January 1923. In autumn 1922 Greece was defeated by Turkey in Asia Minor, and over a million of Greeks living there left their ancestral homes and sought refuge in Greece and other countries. The national aspiration for the creation of a Greater Greece was humiliatingly extinguished. Correspondingly, political activism in Cyprus cooled down. It was then strongly felt among many Greek Cypriots that it would be better to demand more constitutional liberties rather than the unattainable goal of union with Greece. The post-war depression also brought to the foreground purely economic demands. At a mass meeting of farmers held

in December 1922 in Limassol, the demand was put forward, and later submitted in a memorial to the Government, that an Agricultural Bank should be established, lending money at the low interest rate of 5 per cent. In November and December of the same year, citizens of Larnaca and Nicosia submitted separate memorials to the Government asking that educational assessments should be replaced by a direct government subsidy for education.[134]

In December 1922 the National Council of the "Cyprus Political Organisation" discussed the general political and economic situation and decided that a memorial should be sent to the British Government asking for extended constitutional liberties. The desired constitutional amendments would result in self-government under British auspices. In the same month the Government fixed 28 December 1922 as the day for the nomination of candidates for the seven vacant "Christian seats" of the Legislative Council. The National Council also decided that no Greek Cypriot candidates should present themselves for election to the Legislative Council. All the details of the new opposition policy were expounded in a manifesto of the National Council published on 23 December 1922 in the local press.[135]

The boycott of the elections for the Legislative Council collapsed on 28 December 1922 when fourteen Greek Cypriot candidates were nominated for the seven vacant seats. The elections, held on 4 January 1923, were a serious defeat for the nationalists, although the turnout of voters was extremely small, representing on average seven per cent of the electorate.[136] The seven new deputies were mainly farmers who justified their entry into the Legislative Council by saying that they would demand from the Government an Agricultural Bank, relief from rural debts and relief from educational assessment.[137] These moderate new Members of the Legislative Council co-operated with

the Colonial Government over the educational question as well as on other issues which reflected the Government's wish to combine the elimination of the administrative shortcomings with the curtailment of the political influence of the nationalist leaders. In February 1923 the British Government rejected the memorial of the National Council of the Cyprus Political Organisation, requesting political liberties in the form of a revised constitution.[138]

After their abstention from the elections of the Legislative Council, and the election of seven new Members who were willing to co-operate with the Government on educational and other issues, the nationalist leaders who, as stated earlier, were against Government control over primary schools and teachers, were left out in the cold. This change in the political representation of the Greek Cypriots was one of the main reasons for the enactment of the "Elementary Education (Greek-Christian) Law of 1923" (Law 32/1923), through which primary school teachers attained government employee status.[139] As stated earlier, another reason was the economic pressure from the Turkish Cypriot example whereby they accepted increased control over their teachers by the Government, which undertook the burden of paying the teachers' salaries through direct and indirect taxation. Still another reason was the pressure exerted by the teachers themselves for better salaries and security of tenure.

The Pancyprian Teachers' Union, established as long ago as 1911, continued to press for better salaries and security of tenure. However, the situation continued to deteriorate. After 1917 there was an oversupply of teachers, and this was due partly to the establishment of a third Normal School, the Pancyprian Theological and Teacher Training Seminary in Larnaca. As it was easy to find teachers, there was little inclination to pay for higher educational assessments, which

were arbitrary and very unpopular anyway. The post-war trade depression and the increased cost of living made it very difficult for the communities to pay higher salaries to primary school teachers. Teachers' salaries compared badly with those of the junior ranks of the civil service. Thus, in 1923 the average salary of a male teacher in the villages was £70, whereas Government messengers, with much lower educational qualifications, earned £66 a year, fourth division clerks £96 to £150, third division clerks £190 to £230, second division clerks £280 to £300 and first division ones £340 to £400 a year.[140]

The teachers agreed among themselves in demanding higher salaries and security of tenure, but they were divided as to the amount of acceptable control or otherwise by the Government. The Pancyprian Teachers' Union, under the presidency of Charalambos Papadopoulos, was against Government control but a strong supporter of the demand for the improvement of the status of the teachers.[141] However, a large number of teachers preferred greater Government involvement in order to secure better salaries and security of tenure. Many of them applied to the Government asking that the provisions of the Education Law of 1920 as applied to non-Christians should be applied to them so as to become civil servants. Strong articles by teachers and others appeared in the local press advocating that the teachers should become Government employees "in order to liberate them from local caprice and the corrupt practices of the Village Education Committees".[142] These public and private representations influenced the Government, but also the seven moderate Greek Cypriot Members of the Legislative Council in accepting the new education bill as originally drafted by the Colonial Government.[143]

In introducing the Education Bill of 1923 in the Legislative Council, the Government stressed its merits and its benefits to the

teachers in the following way:

> "There would be no need for any teacher on the permanent staff to spend his summer holidays running about looking for a post. There would be no more of one schoolmaster bidding against another in order to obtain a post in his village. There would be no need for schoolmasters to enter into bonds to give part of their salaries as a reward to anyone who had obtained a position for them, and they would not be indebted to anyone but would be promoted according to their merits as teachers."[144]

4.3.3 Appointment of Primary School Teachers by the Board of Education, Subject to the Approval of the High Commissioner of Cyprus

The Elementary Education (Greek-Christian) Law of 1923 was the first decisive step towards centralisation of the administration of primary education and towards the attainment of government employee status by primary school teachers. The right of direct elections of local education committees by the people was to be set aside, and there was to be a concentration of functions and powers at the higher levels of the administrative hierarchy. According to the new education law, local functions in education were to be taken over by "Village Commissions" which were vested with subsidiary powers regarding education. The Village Commissions, consisting of one mukhtar or headman and four azas or elders, were, according to the Village Authorities Law passed in the same year, simply government appointees. Similarly, in the towns the "Town School Commissions" were nominated by the Municipal Councils of the towns. The District Committees of Education were to be vested also with limited powers, mostly of an advisory nature. Real powers were to be reserved for the Board of Education and the High Commissioner.[145]

The Board of Education was to consist of twelve members: the Chief Secretary to the Government, as chairman, the Archbishop, the

Chief Inspector of Schools, as secretary, three persons chosen by the Greek Elected Members of the Legislative Council from among their own body, and six other Greek Cypriots, elected by the District Committees, one for each district.[146] The Board of Education were to deliberate upon all matters connected with Greek Cypriot elementary education. According to the law the Board was to have the following powers: To frame regulations from time to time prescribing the curriculum and course of instruction to be followed in schools, the books to be used, the furniture or equipment required for each school, and the duties of teachers, such regulations being binding upon all teachers; to recommend to the High Commissioner the towns, villages or groups of villages in which schools should be established and the grade of each school, the class and names of teachers to be appointed at each school, the salaries to be paid to each teacher, and the removal or transfer of a teacher, either on the recommendation of the District Committee or of their own motion; in case of misconduct, neglect or inefficiency to order the dismissal, reduction in class, withholding of salary or suspension of any teacher from employment as a teacher for such period as may seem just and the revocation of such dismissal, reduction or suspension; and finally to recommend to the High Commissioner regulations on the classification of teachers.[147]

It is noteworthy that regarding the appointment of primary school teachers, a right previously enjoyed by the Village or Town Committees of Education, the Board was empowered to recommend to the High Commissioner the class and names of teachers to be appointed at each school and the salary to be paid to each teacher. The actual appointment or transfer of teachers was the province of the High Commissioner of Cyprus, who was empowered under the new education law, upon the report of the Board of Education to "approve" the class and

names of teachers to be appointed to each school and the salaries to be paid to each according to their classification.[148] In this way there was a balanced division of authority between the Board of Education and the High Commissioner in that the High Commissioner could not appoint a teacher except on the recommendation of the Board of Education, and the recommendations of the Board could not have any force until they were approved by the High Commissioner.

For the payment of the salaries of the primary school teachers and for other items of expenditure, the law provided for the formation of a fund called the "Greek-Christian Education Fund". The money for this Fund was to be derived from two sources: (a) an additional property tax charged on all property then subject to the tax called "Vergi Kimat", and a tax on each sheep, goat and pig additional to the tax they ordinarily charged on those animals, and (b) a sum provided through the annual Appropriation Law, specially earmarked in aid of elementary education.[149] It was estimated by Malcolm Stevenson, High Commissioner of Cyprus at that time, that about 40 per cent of the total cost of running the primary schools would be derived from the additional property and animal taxes and about 60 per cent from the annual appropriations for elementary education.[150] This taxation was to replace the school assessments, previously known as "school fees", and the grants-in-aid given by the Government in support of primary schools. The only direct assessment that remained in force was that for the construction and maintenance of school buildings.[151]

With the new arrangements teachers were to be paid according to a fixed scale of salaries, decided by the Board of Education, having regard to their classification and their years of service; and on retirement they were entitled to gratuities.[152] Following the Talbot and Cape recommendation, they were to be classified by a Board of

Examiners, appointed by the High Commissioner, into four classes, and each class was to have a different salary scale. The Chief Inspector of Schools, who was to be the Chairman of the Board of Examiners, was to keep a register of teachers, according to their classification, and only teachers on that register were eligible for employment in primary schools. Teachers were to be transferred from one school to another according to the requirements of the service and the recommendations of the Board of Education.[153]

Although the salaries of teachers did not rise dramatically, they were fixed and they were more relevant to their classification. Teachers were relieved of the maladministration of the local committees of education and their status was improved. Duly qualified teachers replaced unqualified teachers, as the Board of Examiners was able to be more strict on these matters since there was an oversupply of trained teachers at that time. In addition, by the grant of gratuities it was possible to discontinue the services of many old teachers who by reason of age or infirmity were incapable of the proper performance of their duties.[154]

4.3.4 Appointment of Primary School Teachers Directly by the Governor of Cyprus

The Church leaders and the nationalist politicians protested strongly on the enactment of the education law of 1923; but there was nothing effective they could do, especially since their abstention policy had excluded them from the Legislative Council. On 1st May 1925, Cyprus was declared a Crown Colony;[155] the "High Commissioner" was henceforth called "Governor of Cyprus". In October 1925 a new Legislative Council was elected and the nationalist politicians again made their presence in that Council strongly felt.[156]

The Elementary Education (Greek-Christian) Law of 1923 did not eradicate abuses in the appointments and transfers of primary school teachers. Although that law had freed the teachers from the personal caprice and maladministration of the Village Committees of Education, it brought them under the direct influence of the politicians, in the Board of Education. Sir Ronald Storrs, who in 1926 became Governor of Cyprus, was convinced that the dignity of the teachers was suffering under the new conditions, as he put it in his autobiography, his "Orientations":

> "The method of appointing, transferring and dismissing teachers, by the Greek Members of Council, was open to grave objections. The politicians too often exercised their power for political or petty personal aims. The teacher was usually the only educated man in the village; as a political agent he was therefore almost indispensable to the politicians, who were exclusively town-dwellers. Being dependent upon the politicians for advancement in his profession, he had to serve the political purposes of his masters. The system was bad, but had been tolerated, partly because the Government had lacked the financial means to pay the teachers itself.
>
> Shortly after my return in 1929 I received numerous petitions from teachers which showed that, bad as the system was in principle, in practice it was even worse. In order that a member of the Board might promote a friend, or vex an enemy, some unfortunate schoolmaster of Paphos would find himself transferred more than a hundred miles to the Karpass Peninsula; there were ugly stories of unsavoury inducements pressed upon reluctant schoolmistresses. These complaints proved on examination to be in the main true, and were said to represent but a fraction of the abuses perpetrated."[157]

These conditions forced many teachers to approach the Government asking to become Government employees. They believed that Government control might bring fairness in the administration of education, better salaries, security of tenure and a pension scheme. The Church leaders and the nationalist politicians urged the teachers not to apply to the Government to become civil servants. Theodotou, the outspoken nationalist politician quoted by Talbot and Cape in their Report, stressed the importance of such a step in an article in the

Greek Cypriot newspaper "Eleftheria", in the following way:

> "We are informed that the teachers will apply to the Government, asking to become Government employees and to get a satisfactory salary and pension. All of us must realise how this will harm our national struggle for freedom. But the teachers are justified because they have obligations, they have to raise their families and their salaries are not sufficient. Unfortunately the persons responsible for this condition have not taken this into consideration, and only the Government has pretended to be interested. The Archbishop, the Holy Synod and the Legislative Council have a great responsibility in this matter, but until now they have not given the necessary attention to it ...
>
> If the teachers become Government employees they will be obliged to follow the orders of the Government. In previous articles we have shown that the only intention of the Government is to crush our national feeling, and by making the teachers their employees they will be able to achieve this aim more easily. So the persons responsible must consider this matter seriously and support the teachers who must be left free to work for their country."[158]

The teachers were restrained to a certain degree by such articles and editorials. But in August 1929 things were brought to a head. At their meetings in that month, the Board of Education recommended so many changes as to teachers to be appointed to the various schools that there was an outcry in the local press, and many representations from teachers and other individuals called for the exercise of the Governor's veto. The Governor, Sir Ronald Storrs, exercising the discretionary powers vested in him by the Elementary Education (Greek-Christian) Law of 1923, withheld the covering approval to many of the appointments recommended by the Board of Education, and accepted in lieu thereof, "the considered recommendations of the Department of Education, which", he was satisfied, "were based solely on educational grounds".[159] The developments that followed are ably described by Sir Ronald Storrs in his "Orientations", as follows:

> "The abolition of the Tribute and a good year enabling me to assume financial control of the [Government] machine, I introduced a Bill whereby the elementary [school] teachers of all communities passed from the political committees to the

> Government, for appointment, promotion, transfer, dismissal and discipline, whilst the salaries of all were raised by a considerable percentage. The measure was greeted with a howl of discerning rage from the politicians, but three independent-minded Greek Members, convinced of the rotteness of the existing system and the necessity of Government intervention, voted for and so passed the Bill. Not one of these three was able to present himself at the 1930 elections. In the Athenian Press the "distinguished Philellene who had abolished the Tribute" became in a trice "the Imperialist Dictator". In the local press I was lampooned, in blasphemous caricatures, as the man who had "assassinated Hellenic education". From the teachers, now secure so long as they did their duty, I received verbal and written expressions of deep gratitude."[160]

The "Education Law of 1929" (Law 4/1929) was the second step towards centralisation and government control over primary education. The Governor took over most of the functions previously exercised by the Board of Education and, subject to his final approval, he delegated some of them to the Chief Inspector of Schools who in the meantime had become Director of Education. While under the Education Law of 1923, the Governor could only "approve", under the Education Law of 1929 he was given the power to "prescribe" the class and names of teachers to be appointed to each school and the salaries to be paid to each according to their classification. District Committees of Education were abolished and local School Committees were left with only subsidiary powers related to school buildings. The only real power left to the Board of Education was to prescribe the curriculum and the text-books to be used in the primary schools. Under the Education Law of 1929 the primary school teachers were brought under the direct control of the Government for appointment, promotion, transfer, and disciplinary purposes and their salaries were paid from revenue.[161]

Again there were strong protests by the Church leaders and the nationalist politicians against the new educational arrangements which minimised their influence in primary education. But, since control over teachers passed from Greek Cypriot to Government hands

through the Legislative Council, and with the support of a large section of the teachers, it was legitimised. A few years later, following the October 1931 revolt, total control on primary education was imposed from the top.

4.3.5 Total Government Control Over Primary School Teachers

The October 1931 revolt was the outcome of increased political activism that was taking place in the late 1920's, against a grim economic background that gave ample opportunities for discontent and popular mobilisation. The peasants and the workers were unable to pay neither their taxes nor their creditors. The politicians, under the leadership of Nicodemos Mylonas, bishop of Kition, reactivated their "National Political Organisation" and became more militant, especially after the 1930 elections for the Legislative Council. They demanded proportional representation in the Legislative Council and a refund of the excess of the tribute payments over grants-in-aid for the past fifty years, amounting to a million pounds. A memorandum, along these lines, was submitted in 1929 to Lord Passfield, the Labour Colonial Secretary, but it was rejected outright. In addition the Colonial Government introduced, in 1931, a new Bill to increase taxation. That Bill was rejected by the Legislative Council, but was brought into effect by the Governor through an Order-in-Council.

The cumulative effect of these actions was intense discontent among the people and the resignation of the Greek Elected Members of the Legislative Council on 20th October, 1931. Their resignation sparked off antigovernment demonstrations on the following day; the Government House in Nicosia was burned, some civilians were killed and other people injured. Britain reacted quickly with strict

measures; troops were dispatched to the island to restore order, ten Greek Cypriots, including bishop Nicodemos Mylonas, were deported and 2,000 people were detained or imprisoned. The Constitution and all elected bodies, including the Legislative Council, were abolished. The press was brought under strict censorship, and the Governor was given absolute authority to legislate by decree.[162]

Two years after the unsuccessful revolt of 1931 a new law, "The Elementary Education Law of 1933" (Law 18/1933), was enacted. Under this law the Governor became "the central authority for all matters relating to elementary education" in Cyprus.[163] He was given the power to make any regulations on any subject relating to elementary education, including the curriculum, the classification, examination, registration, appointment, transfer, promotion and discipline of teachers. The Board of Education, the Town Committee and the Village Commissions became merely advisory bodies and their members were appointed directly by the Governor. The Governor could delegate to the Director of Education or to local committees such powers as he might think fit, but he could revoke them at any time. The Director of Education became the executive head of primary education, and in practice the policy-making authority.[164]

As stated in the annual report of the Department of Education for the school year 1932-33, "under the law of 1933 the process of centralisation was carried to its natural conclusion, and the Government assumed final responsibility in educational matters" concerning primary schools.[165] However, the real issue was not central control versus local control, but British control versus Cypriot control; and the decision to take over primary education was taken by the Government more for political rather than educational reasons.

4.4 The Professional Status and the Education of Secondary School Teachers During the Period of the Normal Schools (1893-1935)

When the British took over the administration of Cyprus in 1878, there were in the island only three secondary schools, one in Nicosia, one in Larnaca and one in Limassol.[166] These secondary schools, called "hellenic schools", were more or less "semigymnasia" or lower secondary schools. Their curriculum was extensive and included Ancient and Modern Greek Language, Higher Mathematics, History, Religious Education, Science, and French.[167] They carried on their educational work along the lines followed in similar institutions in Greece, and most of their masters were graduates of the univerity of Athens or other Greek higher educational institutions. But the poverty of the people and the shortage of secondary school teachers were such that very few people were able to attend these "hellenic schools". Secondary school teachers were usually Greek nationals because there was a shortage of Greek Cypriots with a university degree. The graduates of the "hellenic schools" usually became clergymen or teachers in the primary schools of the country.[168] The most important of these "hellenic schools" was the "Hellenic School of Nicosia", which in 1893 was renamed "Pancyprian Gymnasium" and its course was extended to make it a six-year secondary school. At the same time a new section, called "Pankyprion Didaskaleion", i.e. Pancyprian Normal School, was added to it, which undertook the paedagogical training of primary school teachers.

The "hellenic schools" were established primarily through the efforts of the Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus and were maintained by Church donations and school fees. They were administered by Town School Committees which also administered the primary schools of the

towns. They had the powers and duties to appoint and dismiss the teachers, to fix and pay their salaries, collect the voluntary contributions and the school fees, inspect the schools and generally administer the affairs of a secondary school in co-operation with the principal of the school.[169] The Bishop of the Diocese was ex-officio chairman of the Town School Committee and he usually made the largest contribution to the maintenance of a secondary school. In general, however, there was no clearly defined policy as to the membership and mode of election of the Town School Committees, and in the case of the "Hellenic School of Nicosia", it was controlled by the Archbishop and the Holy Synod in an absolute way.[170] In summary, during the Turkish Rule of the island, the Church was the most important factor in the establishment, maintenance, control and administration of the few secondary schools that were then in existence.

Up to 1935 the Colonial Government was concerned mainly with primary education and very little attention was given to secondary education. Secondary schools were not inspected by the Inspector of Schools, "except upon invitation by their Committees".[171] On the contrary, the Church interest in secondary education remained profound throughout the British Administration. After the October 1931 revolt the British and Colonial Governments came to realise more fully the vital role of secondary education in the nationalist movement of Cyprus and they made a determined attempt to control or direct it. The decisive event in that attempt was the Secondary Education Law of 1935, which will be analysed and discussed in the next chapter.

The priority accorded by British educational policy to primary education was laid down by the Earl of Kimberley, Secretary of State for the Colonies as early as 1881. It was due to the obvious need to educate the great mass of the people so as to communicate

effectively with them and make them appreciate the Government efforts to improve agriculture and the general economic infracture of the country. On the other hand, secondary education was not a matter of urgency because it was not so indispensable, whereas the Government machinery of the island was run efficiently mostly by British officials, educated in England.[172]

Only the training of primary school teachers, then being carried out in secondary schools, was considered a priority by the Colonial Government. For this reason direct grants were made to the three secondary schools which trained primary school teachers, but this was considered an indirect contribution to elementary education. In addition the Education Amendment Law of 1897 provided for the financial support of the Pancyprian Gymnasium, which trained primary school teachers, by an additional five per cent of the amount assessed and collected for the purpose of financing elementary education.[173] The Education Law of 1905 extended this provision to all the secondary schools of Cyprus, and in that way the five per cent levy from each district was used for the partial support of the respective secondary schools.[174] When the direct assessment of the tax-paying inhabitants for primary education was replaced, through the Elementary Education (Greek-Christian) Law of 1923, by a direct tax on property and animals, an amount earning half of the cost of teachers' salaries, representing ten per cent of the sum so collected was earmarked for the support of secondary schools.[175] Another grant to secondary education was a grant given to those schools which promoted the teaching of English. It was established at the initiative of Spencer in 1899 and rose steadily as the teaching of English spread to more and more schools.[176] All these minimal grants were withdrawn when the Colonial Government decided in 1935 to make its own arrangements for the training of primary school

teachers, and more interventionist policies were initiated in secondary education through the Secondary Education Law of 1935.

In a concommitant way, up to 1935 legislation relating to secondary education was also restricted to the absolute minimum. The "Secondary Education Law of 1905" (Law 10/1905) was the first education law relating to secondary education to be enacted. But it was brought about not by the Colonial Government, but by the Greek Cypriots during the "Archiepiscopal Question". The majority of the Greek Elected Members of the Legislative Council belonged, at that time, to the "Kition party". They resented the ex-officio powers of the pro-Kyrenia Holy Synod that appointed the members of the Nicosia Town School Committee, which controlled the schools of that town. The Secondary Education Law of 1905 defined the membership and functions of the Governing Bodies that were to administer the secondary schools, and established the popular elective principle for these bodies. The Governing Bodies, under this law, had the powers to deliberate upon all matters concerning secondary education in their town, including the powers to appoint and dismiss the teachers, fix and pay their salaries and define their duties. The Bishop of the Diocese was the ex-officio chairman of the Governing Body.[177] Minor modifications to this law were made later, but the situation remained substantially the same until the Secondary Education Law of 1935 was enacted. In short the policy of the British and Colonial Governments regarding secondary education was, up to 1935, one of non-interference. On the contrary, the Church and the nationalist politicians were very active in secondary education, which they viewed as a nursery of nationalist leaders and teachers through whom they influenced the people. Their success can be judged by the important part played by secondary school pupils during the revolution of 1955-59.

The expansion of secondary education, as opposed to that of primary education, was slow. In 1878, the first year of the British Administration, there were only three lower secondary schools in Cyprus. Even at the beginning of the twentieth century (1901-1902) there were only five Greek Cypriot secondary schools with a total of 419 pupils and 25 masters.[178] The greatest drive by the Church to establish new secondary schools was during the period between the two world wars. Private secondary schools were also established in the same period. The number of pupils increased accordingly, and especially after the Second World War.[179]

The slow expansion of secondary education was due not only to the lack of priority accorded to it by the Colonial Government and the poverty of the people, who in many cases could not afford to pay even church-subsidised tuition fees, but also to the shortage of Greek Cypriot teachers possessing a university degree. One solution to the latter problem has been to employ university qualified secondary school teachers from Greece. This solution was favoured by the Church for political reasons. Another solution was to appoint non-degree holders, usually graduates of the Normal Schools, which in the 1920s supplied the educational system with too many primary school teachers. Even teachers with only secondary education credentials were used in some private secondary schools.[180]

It must be emphasised that the secondary school teachers who were graduates of the University of Athens or other higher educational institutions were not paedagogically trained. The salaries of well qualified secondary school teachers were generally better than those of primary school teachers. Both primary and secondary school teachers enjoyed high social esteem, not so much for the salaries which they earned, but for the esteem generally accorded to education.

4.5 The Takeover of the Training of Primary School Teachers by the Government

Talbot and Cape were sent to Cyprus in 1913 to look primarily into the problem of finance and administration of primary education. But they also looked into the existing arrangements for the training of primary school teachers, and made certain recommendations for the improvement of these provisions. Their Report can be considered as the best available contemporary evidence as to the quality of teacher training at that time.

4.5.1 The Quality of the Work of the Normal Schools

The programme of studies at the Pancyprian Normal School was differentiated from that of the classical section of the Gymnasium by dropping some academic subjects (Latin, French and Trigonometry), introducing the specialist subject of "Paedagogics" and devoting more time to the study of practical subjects such as Agriculture, Hygiene, Handicraft and Woodwork. Talbot and Cape commented favourably on this aspect of the work of the School because it showed that the Greek Cypriots had realised "the need for making the teachers proficient in the more practical subjects of the elementary school curriculum".[181] On the other hand they thought that the programme of studies followed at the Phaneromeni Normal School for Mistresses was too extensive, ranging over a wide variety of subjects. They considered that programme of studies a somewhat unsatisfactory compromise between the requirements of a secondary school and those of a training college for primary schoolmistresses. According to the experts, what these intending elementary schoolmistresses really needed, "in addition to the elements of sound general education was a course of instruction

bearing more directly on their professional work for the future, with further opportunities for continuous practice in teaching in elementary schools".[182]

Concerning the paedagogical training proper afforded at the Pancyprian Normal School the experts were satisfied that a good deal of specific instruction was given in the principles of teaching, but they were dissatisfied with the opportunities given to the student teachers for practice in the art of teaching. The experts described the situation in the following way:

> "A good deal of specific instruction is given in the principles of teaching, but in the first year it is almost wholly theoretical. In the second year, about six hours a week are given to practice in teaching in certain elementary schools in the town. We understand that the total number of hours devoted during the second year to actual practice in teaching is about one hundred; but individual students told us that they had themselves given only one, or at most two, lessons in the course of the year. These lessons correspond to the old-fashioned and formal "criticism lessons" which still survive in English training colleges. One of the classes in the elementary school is taught by a selected student in the presence of the Professor of Paedagogy, and the remaining students listen for purposes of edification with a view to future discussion under the guidance of the professor."[183]

The author of this thesis was able to confirm the contentions of Talbot and Cape concerning teaching practice by interviewing Mrs. Antigoni Michaelidou, first Principal of the Mistresses Training Centre and later Assistant Principal of the Paedagogical Academy, who was herself trained at the Phaneromeni Normal School for Mistresses. According to Mrs. Michaelidou:

> "Both the Normal Schools of Nicosia were deficient in teaching practice; one could graduate from the Phaneromeni Normal School for Mistresses, as I did, having taught one or two lessons only. Our studies did not include an analysis of the syllabus of the primary school either. Every teacher applied it as he thought fit. I remember that by Christmas, in my first year of teaching, I had covered the whole of the syllabus, and when my inspector turned up to see me, I asked him what I was to do next. Another

problem with the syllabus of the Phaneromeni Normal School for Mistresses was that it was overloaded with very many subjects."[184]

Another related issue which the two educational experts examined in some detail was the character of instruction being imposed by the syllabus of the elementary schools, and the extent to which the training received by intending teachers was suited to prepare them for their work. They thought that "The Analytical Programme" (i.e. syllabus), introduced as long ago as 1898, was too advanced and altogether beyond the powers either of the teachers or of the children in most of the country schools. This remark applied particularly to the subjects of "Natural History" and "Experimental Physics". The chief defect was really one of method of presentation and of use of the available text-books. The teachers used to rely slavisly on the school text-books which were often too hard, both in wording and subject-matter, for the children to understand. The fault was ultimately to be traced to the teachers' own education, whereby great importance was attached to the repetition of the words of the text-books or of the professors' lectures. But it was also due to defective methodological training of teachers, and the experts thought that these shortcomings would be less common if intending teachers were given, during their course of training, "continuous practice, under competent supervision, in the art of handling classes".[185]

These deficiencies in teacher education hindered any attempts to make the instruction being given in the schools of Cyprus more "practical". This could be done by bringing the instruction of academic subjects into direct relationship with the children's daily experiences and by giving prominence to subjects of a practical nature, such as Gardening and Woodwork, which were usually neglected. But the

real problem, following the provision of equipment and workshops, was "how to obtain a sufficiency of teachers adequately qualified to teach such subjects". For the introduction of Woodwork on proper lines into the schools, the experts suggested that two carefully selected teachers should be sent to England to study the whole subject of manual training, and, on their return, to teach it to the other teachers. For Gardening and Agriculture they suggested special courses at the Agricultural College for those teachers young enough to benefit from and apply such instruction.[186]

In order to make better provision for the training of primary school teachers, the two experts suggested certain changes in the courses of both the Pancyprian and the Phaneromeni Normal Schools. The primary aim of the proposed reforms was that each student should have the opportunity of continuous practice in teaching over an extended period in some conveniently situated primary school, under competent supervision. The necessary time for practice in teaching might be found, according to the two experts, in one of two ways: either the existing course might be retained and the number of hours given to purely academic subjects reduced; or another year might be added to the existing period of training and devoted partly to practice in teaching in conditions more nearly resembling those which the students would subsequently experience as teachers, and partly to further instruction in technical subjects, such as Handicrafts, Gardening and Agriculture. Of the two alternatives, the latter was preferable on educational grounds.[187]

The experts also suggested an increase of the grant being given to the Pancyprian Normal School from £200 to £650, and to the Phaneromeni Normal School for Mistresses from £100 to £350. If the duration of training was to be extended by another year, a

proportionate increase was also suggested. But the increased government grants were to carry certain conditions about efficiency. The Government was to have the right to inspect the Normal Schools receiving grants, and in deciding whether the grant to each school should be paid in full or not, the Education Department was to have special regard to the suitability of the arrangements made for the training of elementary school teachers.[188]

These suggestions for improvement of the curriculum of the Normal Schools were considered by the experts as only a temporary solution. Their long-term solution was an independent post-secondary Teachers' Training College, an idea which was implemented by the Colonial Government more than twenty years later. As the experts advocated in their Report,

> "Sooner or later the work of training elementary school teachers should be taken out of the hands of the secondary schools, and provided for in separate institutions exclusively designed for this purpose ... We hope that in the near future the Government may find it possible to devote some of the surplus funds at its disposal to establishing training colleges, providing a normal course of two years for Moslems and Greeks of both sexes. In Cyprus, indeed, as elsewhere, there is no more fruitful or deserving object to which public money could be devoted than the preparation for their work in life of those who are to teach the children of the people."[189]

Another shortcoming of the two Normal Schools of Nicosia, which was, however, not pointed out by Talbot and Cape, was the lack of selection of those who wanted to become teachers. Any pupil who had passed the promotion examinations from the fifth to the sixth form of the Gymnasium could enter the Pancyprian Normal School to be trained as a teacher. No further selection was envisaged. Similarly, entrance to the training classes of the Phaneromeni Normal School for Mistresses was by simple promotion from the last year of the lower secondary section of the school. As the primary school system was continuously

expanding at the time of the Talbot and Cape Report, no serious problem arose.

The suggestions of the two educational experts, both for short term and long term reforms, were not acted upon by those in charge of education in Cyprus. On the contrary the Greek Board of Education, under the influence of the Holy Synod, accepted the upgrading of the Theological Seminary of Larnaca to a Normal School, an action which complicated the situation further. The Seminary was a secondary school whose chief aim was to train priests, and there was a strongly theological bias in its curriculum. The Pancyprian Theological and Teacher Training Seminary has had all the deficiencies of the other Normal School to an increased degree and has led to the over-supply of teachers insufficiently trained and in some cases of low calibre. According to the Statute of the Seminary its entrants should come from all towns and villages of Cyprus, as far as possible. This provision obviously aimed at staffing the villages with educated priests, but it meant that the place of residence was a more important qualification for entrance than academic attainment. Leading educationists of the time, and the Primary Teachers' Union, advised the Board of Education to apply more stringent criteria of selection in all three Normal Schools, but unfortunately their advice was not taken seriously.[190] The result was an oversupply of teachers especially in the late 1920's and early 1930's.

In summary, although the quality of the work of the Normal Schools satisfied the needs of the school system to a certain extent, there were sound educational reasons for reform. These were the need for more teaching practice over an extended period, making the character of instruction more practical and more life-relevant, proper selection of the entrants to teacher training so that supply would

match demand, and above all raising the standard of teacher training by removing it from the hands of the secondary schools and providing such education and training in post-secondary Teachers' Training Colleges. Nevertheless, the decision for such a course of action was taken on political grounds.

4.5.2 The Oakden Recommendation for the Establishment of Government Teachers' Training Colleges

A major factor in the development of the education and professional status of primary school teachers, throughout the British Administration, was the overt or covert conflict over the control of schools and teachers, between the Colonial Government and the Greek Cypriots, headed by the Church and the nationalist politicians. Although other factors played their part in the formulation of educational policies, the interest in the control of schools and teachers fundamentally shaped the attitudes of both the Greek Cypriot and the Colonial policymakers.

In the period 1878 to 1913 the policy of the London Government was one of non-interference in primary education, and government financial assistance to schools aimed at making the system more efficient. Some of the senior British Administrators in Cyprus believed that some measure of control was necessary, but the London Government was very reluctant to interfere. It must be noted that during this period Cyprus was merely "administered" by Britain. In 1914, however, the island was annexed to the British Crown, and there was an upsurge of the nationalist movement after the abortive British offer of Cyprus to Greece.

Following the Talbot and Cape Report in 1914 and the post-war political activism, the British education policy became one of

progressive interference and control over primary schools and teachers. All the measures taken by the Colonial Government combined what was objectively useful and politically beneficial to the Administration. After the October 1931 revolt, which threatened the British supremacy in the island, the part played by the teachers in the political education of the new generation became more apparent. The establishment of Government controlled Teachers' Training Colleges, therefore, became more urgent.[191]

In June 1932 the Colonial Government withdrew the recognition of the Pancyprian Theological and Teacher Training Seminary of Larnaca as a Normal School, on the grounds that it was not providing an adequate course of training, and ceased to support it financially. As a result, the Seminary closed down.[192] Similarly, in June 1935 the Director of Education informed the Nicosia School Committee that the Government would stop the grants hitherto paid to the Pancyprian Normal School and the Phaneromeni Normal School for Mistresses and that it was going to make its own arrangements for the training of primary school teachers.[193] The Nicosia School Committee, recognising the fact that far more teachers had been turned out in the previous years than could be absorbed in elementary schools, and realising that the graduates of the Normal Schools would not be considered by the Government for appointment after the establishment of the Government-controlled Teachers' Training Colleges, decided to close down both the Nicosia Normal Schools.[194] As a matter of fact the Government refused to consider for appointment those graduates of the Normal Schools who were still unemployed by 15th June 1937.[195] As a result of these developments the Pancyprian Normal School closed down in June 1935 and the Phaneromeni Normal School for Mistresses in June 1937.[196]

Sir Ralph Oakden, the Financial Commissioner who was sent to

Cyprus in 1934 to report on the economy of the island, strongly recommended that the Government should establish its own teachers' training institutions. "It is not satisfactory," he wrote in his report, "that the Government should have no control over the training of the teachers who are to staff its elementary schools, and this is a state of affairs which, in my view, should be remedied at an early date".[197] He suggested that the best place for the establishment of the Teachers' Training College was near the Morphou Agricultural Experimental Station, where it would be possible to make arrangements whereby the student teachers would receive some agricultural instruction during their two-year training course. He observed, just as Surridge has done in his "Survey of Rural Life in Cyprus"[198], that teachers of elementary schools were drawn almost entirely from the towns and although they lived and worked in villages, they had little knowledge of agriculture or ability to teach it in their schools.[199] The proposal for the establishment of the Teachers' Training College, Morphou, was accepted by the British and Colonial Governments. It was "the final step" in the process of centralisation and control of elementary education.[200]

CHAPTER 5

THE PERIOD OF THE GOVERNMENT TEACHERS' TRAINING COLLEGES (1935-1959)

5.1 The Education and Professional Status of Primary School Teachers

5.1.1 Establishment of Government Teachers' Training Colleges

In November 1937 effect was given to the decision reached in 1935 that a Government Teachers' Training College should be established for male teachers of all races in the island. It was situated in the grounds of the Agricultural Department's Central Experimental Farm, at Morphou, in the north coastal area of the island. Residential accommodation had been constructed for students and staff on the campus of the College, and the teaching facilities included a library, laboratories, workshops, playgrounds and ample land for agricultural instruction.

In the first year, the staff of the College consisted of an English principal, two Cypriot members of staff, an agricultural instructor seconded from the Department of Agriculture and three part-time visiting lecturers. The two Cypriot members of staff, had had experience of inspection work and had been specially trained for the work of the College by a two-year course of study at the University College of South West Exeter in England. The Principal, Dr. G. F. Sleight, had had experience of rural education in his distinguished academic and professional career. The emphasis on agricultural

training was clearly manifested. The aim of the College was to combine theoretical and practical teacher training together with agricultural training in a two-years' course. At the beginning, a two-years' course was planned for all students, but this was found to be inadequate for the development of strong agricultural bias in the programme. A third year, mainly for agricultural work, was accordingly provided for a small percentage of students with real aptitute for such work, who were interested in becoming teachers for the Rural Middle Schools which were envisaged at that time.[1*]

The Teachers' Training College was a residential institution comprising both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot students, and occasionally Maronites, in a two-years' course. The students received free tuition and boarding and on graduation they were almost assured of appointment. Only such a number of students was admitted as were sufficient to fill the anticipated number of vacancies in the primary schools of the island. Admission to the College was limited to those candidates who had completed secondary school, had passed the English Distinction Examination and the College entrance examinations, and succeeded in an interview that followed. In the early 50's, when the Cyprus Certificate of Education Examinations were introduced, the students were selected from the applicants who had passed these examinations, at least in the subjects of English, Greek/Turkish, Mathematics and History or Geography, and the College entrance examinations were discontinued. However, the candidates were called for an oral interview with one or usually two panels of interviewers, consisting of education officers and college staff. Emphasis was placed on the mastery of the English language since the College was

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* Notes and references to this chapter start on page 873.

intercommunal and the medium of instruction was English. Special attention was also paid to the interest of the candidates in rural welfare and agriculture.[2] After their admission, the students served as probationary assistant masters for one year under the supervision of the Principal of the Teachers' Training College, or an "organising teacher" before being admitted to the College for their two-year course. However, this practice was found to be unduly expensive and adequate supervision had proved increasingly difficult. After September 1946 students were admitted directly to the College.[3]

The Teachers' Training College at Morphou, was a male institution only. For the training of mistresses the Government was late in providing proper facilities. The Phaneromeni Normal School for Mistresses, which had been training primary school-mistresses since 1903, closed down in 1937. However, because of financial difficulties, a Government Mistresses' Training College did not immediately replace it, and this delay naturally provided grounds for accusation from the Nicosia School Committee.[4] They proposed to re-open their Normal School for Mistresses, on the same terms as it had functioned in the past, but the Government rejected that suggestion and made specific proposals to the London Government for the establishment of its own Mistresses' Training College. In the meantime World War II broke out and the College did not ever materialise as originally planned.[5]

To alleviate the situation, the Government reverted to temporary measures. A Probationary Assistant Training Scheme was introduced in September 1940, under the direction of the Principal of the Teachers' Training College, Morphou. Those female candidates who were successful in the Teachers' Training College Entrance Examinations were appointed as supernumerary mistresses in selected schools. They worked in these schools, under the supervision of the Principal of the

Teachers' Training College, for two or three years, after which they were appointed as mistresses with full responsibility for a class. As the Principal of the Teachers' Training College, Dr. Sleight, later Director of Education, admitted in one of his reports, there was "little to be said in defence" of this system of training. It was a degrading of teacher education to the level of apprenticeship.[6]

In 1943 the Probationary Assistant Training Scheme was reorganised and a Mistresses' Training Centre was established in Nicosia, under the supervision of the principal of the Teachers' Training College. Under that modified system of training, the student-mistresses spent half of their time serving as supernumerary assistants in Nicosia primary schools and the other half attending lectures in the Mistresses' Training Centre. The first teaching staff was made up of two Greek Cypriot elementary schoolmistresses, who had studied Education in England. They were responsible for both the suypervision of teaching practice and the theoretical instruction to the student-mistresses. The girls received a two-year course of training and the language of instruction was Greek.[7] Parallel arrangements were made in the same Centre for the training of Turkish Cypriot student-mistresses by a Turkish Cypriot mistress who was responsible for every aspect of their training. For these girls the language of instruction was Turkish, and for some years their course was, because of lack of staff, limited to one year.[8]

How inadequate these provisions were is exemplified by the following extract from the Report of the Department of Education for the period 1942-1945:

> "The [Mistresses' Training] Centre labours under every conceivable disadvantage; it consists of one room in a very old elementary school, it is very noisy, damp, badly lit and badly ventilated. Three classes take turns in using the one room.

> Lack of accommodation and staff has inevitably restricted the number in training."[9]

In 1946 the one-room Mistresses Training Centre was left to the use of the Turkish Cypriot student-mistresses, and an old three-roomed house was rented to accommodate the Greek students. The premises were still unsatisfactory but the keenness of the staff and students were enough to overcome the limitations. No residential accommodation was available, and the girl-students received an allowance to meet the cost of board and lodging.[10] In 1947 an English Principal was appointed to take charge of both the Turkish Cypriot and the Greek Cypriot Mistresses' Training Centres. In the same year the staff of the Greek Cypriot Centre was still made up of two English-trained mistresses, who were employed in the Centre full-time, plus visiting lecturers for Music and Art.[11]

In 1949 both Training Centres moved to a newer and better building, which was considered at that time to be a temporary arrangement. The new quarters could accommodate all the student-mistresses, Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot, but physical training was particularly difficult as there was no suitable space for it in the new Centre.[12] The "Ten-Year Programme of Development for Cyprus", drawn-up for the period 1946 to 1956 envisaged the establishment of a proper Women's Training College, where systematic instruction could be carried out. The Programme also proposed enlargement of the existing Teachers' Training College at Morphou.[13] These plans, however, did not materialise because of second thoughts for a larger College for both male and female students. As a result, conditions in the Mistresses' Training Centre remained "very cramped".[14]

The building of a new Training College started in 1955 on the outskirts of Nicosia, and was planned to take both the men and

women students, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Its teaching block was first opened in January 1958.[15] The new College consisted of a common College for men and women, with separate boarding houses, staff residences and sports grounds. It provided for the accommodation of 120 resident male students, 120 resident female students and training accommodation for about 100 day students on special courses.[16]

Having two separate Colleges far distant from each other, it has been necessary to have two "separate staffs, and an unsatisfactory system of part-time lecturers".[17] On the other hand, the accommodation problems especially of the Mistresses' Training Centre had had serious consequences and inevitably hindered progress. According to Dr. Sleight, Director of Education,

> "The immediate result has been an acute shortage of mistresses, aggravated by the great wastage in this branch of the service due to early retirement for marriage. It has therefore been necessary to appoint masters to posts formerly held by mistresses, which has created an apparent shortage of masters; in consequence the men's College has been strained to the limit of its capacity. Little progress can be made in special provisions for teaching infants ... without specially trained staff, which, the men's College cannot supply ...
>
> The rate of training has not therefore been adequate to maintain the service at the total strength of the school-year 1938-9, and in the meantime other factors, [such as] increase in school population and a steady improvement in attendance, have aggravated the situation; attempts to introduce a reduction in the size of classes have inevitably been deferred. The shortage of teachers is indicated by the steady increase in the employment of substitute or retired teachers on the Temporary Staff from 43 in 1938-9 to 180 in 1944-5.[18]

The accommodation problems of the Mistresses' Training Centre, illustrate the importance of the economic factor in the policy for teacher education provisions. Lack of available funds had delayed progress and influenced the arrangements which those in charge of education intended to make. Yet other favourable factors, dealt with in the following section, had a positive influence on the quality of

the output of the Government Teachers' Training Colleges.

5.1.2 The Work of the Teachers' Training College and of the Mistresses' Training Centre

The curriculum of the Teachers' Training College, Morphou covered all the subjects of the elementary schools up to, and sometimes beyond, university matriculation level. For their professional preparation the students attended lectures and seminars on the Principles of Education, Child Psychology and Methods of Teaching. Specialist organising teachers were also invited to train the students in Music and Singing, Physical Training, Art and Handicrafts. Theoretical and Practical Agriculture was also included in the curriculum, and this was considered a major innovation in the training of Cypriot student-teachers. They also had the chance of participating in sporting activities in the College and in freely elected students' societies.[19]

The practical training of the students included teaching practice and demonstration lessons. Demonstration lessons were usually organised in nearby model schools. Teaching practice was carried out on a block basis. The College was closed for a fortnight every term and the students were distributed to nearby primary schools where they taught under the supervision of the College staff. It was the policy of the College that each student would have the chance to teach at every type of primary school, from the one-teacher school to a full six-teacher school.[20]

The curriculum of the Mistresses' Training Centre was similar to that of the Teachers' Training College, but there were several differences. The student-mistresses spent "approximately half the week in teaching practice in the town schools and the rest of the

time in the Centre" where the course consisted of more advanced subject-matter of the elementary school curriculum plus Methods of Teaching and Educational Psychology.[21] The standard of the academic subjects was therefore "somewhat lower" since such an enormous time was spent on teaching practice.[22] The student-mistresses usually specialised in Infant Methods. Male students were trained in Handicrafts and female students were trained in Domestic Science.[23]

The residential life of the Teachers' Training College gave ample opportunities for sporting or social activities which were not so freely available at the Mistresses' Training Centre, which was only a day school. The male students, were given free-board and lodging in term-time, while the female students, were given a living-out allowance in lieu of board and lodging. An allowance was also given to all students for books and materials.[24]

With the establishment of the Government Teachers' Training Colleges the recruitment of student-teachers was put on a sound basis. During the period 1893-1935, when teacher training was in the hands of secondary schools, of which the Normal Schools formed a part, entrance to the training classes was by simple promotion and there was no limit to the number of entrants. The result had been an overproduction of primary school teachers, unemployment and lowering of the status of the teaching profession. The government arrangements put the selection of teachers on a proper footing. Firstly, only such a number of students was admitted as were sufficient to fill the anticipated number of vacancies in schools. Then, admission to the Training Colleges was limited to those who had completed a secondary school, passed the College Entrance Examinations (or later, the appropriate subjects of the Cyprus Certificate of Education Examinations), and succeeded in an interview. Finally, the Government managed to attract good quality

students by offering free tuition, board and lodging during their studies and by raising the teachers' salaries, and thereby their status.[25] In fact the salaries of primary school teachers were revised upwards on six occasions in fifteen years, i.e. in 1942, 1945, 1947, 1951, 1953 and 1956 (see Appendix A.6).

The quality of the students of the Government Training Colleges can be also judged by their success in further studies. The Teachers' Training College encouraged students who showed promise to sit for the London Matriculation Examinations and to continue their studies after leaving College with a view to taking an external degree. For example, during 1948-49 twelve students sat for the London Matriculation Examination and ten passed; similary in 1949-50 eight students passed the same examination. In July 1949 four students sat the Intermediate Arts Examination and all were successful. Special classes were held at the College in preparation for the London Intermediate Degree Examinations, and these classes often included graduates of the College who were no longer in residence.[26]

The teaching staff of the Government Training Colleges were specially selected and thereafter trained overseas specifically for the job. The Principal of the Teachers' Training College and one or two other members of staff were English, while the rest were natives. Dr. Sleight, the first Principal of the College, was a man of "distinguished academic career",[27] while the rest of the staff had been further educated in the United Kingdom, through Government scholarships or study leaves.

The "Ten-year Programme of Development for Cyprus" for the period 1946 to 1956 provided for a scholarship scheme under which Cypriots were to be trained in England for subsequent employment at home.[28] Out of 120 scholarships awarded, 34 were given for the further

training of members of the Education Department and actually 24 were taken up by persons belonging directly or indirectly to teacher education.[29] The scholarships covered every aspect of school education and were usually of three years' duration, leading to a degree or diploma.[30] By the end of the scheme "half the staff of the Training Colleges, half the inspectorate and organising teacher staff had benefited" by the scholarship programme.[31] Parallel to the Scholarship Scheme there has been a departmental arrangement for study leaves, which began in 1951-52. Primary school teachers were granted leave either on full pay or on half pay according to whether they were requested to undertake further training or they applied on their own initiative.[32] Courses usually lasted for one year and they were held at an Institute of Education in the United Kingdom. About eight teachers took advantage of this scheme each year and, although they formed only a very small proportion, the effect of the scheme was noteworthy because middle level educational leaders were prepared that way. Promising and experienced primary school teachers were given the chance during their studies in the United Kingdom to observe and practice modern teaching methods, and later, on their return home, they were usually promoted to headmasters.[33]

5.1.3 The Diffusion of "Modern Methods" of Teaching Through In-Service Training

The methods which were taught in the Normal Schools (1893-1935), and applied in the primary schools of the island, were characterised by Talbot and Cape, the two educational experts who reported on the education of Cyprus in 1913, as "bookish".[34] They suggested two ways of making the instruction given in schools more "practical": (a) to introduce into the curriculum subjects inherently

practical such as Agriculture and Woodwork, and (b) to alter the character of instruction of the academic subjects, so as to bring them into direct relation with the life and experiences of the children.[35]

Cullen, the Director of Education in Cyprus, made the following diagnosis in 1932, as to the defects of the educational system of the island.

> "The chief curse, however, of the Cypriot in education is undoubtedly his memory. Like other peoples to whom the idea of general literacy is a new thing and who have not yet formed the habit of reading for pleasure, the Greeks and Turks alike of Cyprus have developed a remarkably good memory. Encouraged by the artificiality of much that they are expected to learn, however little it may mean to them, they have come to regard the verbal repetition of a lesson from a supposedly infallible book as a legitimate substitute for the exercise of intelligence. From a child's first reading to his highest flights in Mathematics or theoretical Psychology he is allowed to assume that an accurate learning by heart is the sum total of education. When he has finished a book and can repeat whole pages of it verbatim, he "knows" that subject, although he has never given it any real thought, cannot reconstruct its matter except in the one way laid down, and is blind to the existence of branches beyond the scope of his primer. This is, no doubt, a common complaint of educationists, but the disease seems particularly rampant in Cyprus...
>
> The teacher, having no experience of better methods, no more than a sketchy training in a so-called training school, and an ingrained belief in that form of education himself, is usually unaware of the defects of this system and almost always incapable of remedying them. A consequence of this is that subjects which cry out to be taught by practical methods are still limited by old-fashioned text-books. No attempt is made to make Geography grow out of a child's surroundings, to link History onto the visible reminders of the island's past, to connect Arithmetic with the work, e.g. of a school garden, to promote observation of living things in Nature Study, or in any way to bring out the correlation (blessed old-fashioned word) of subjects and the organic unit of knowledge."[36]

Educational reforms were very slow to take root in Cyprus. In essence, what came to be known as "Progressive Education", "Child-centred Education", and the "New School Movement", all emphasized that education is the training of "living people, for living, by living."[37] They de-emphasised the study of classics and emphasised the study of

languages and nature study; they proposed that the ultimate aim of education was not for leisure but for earning a living; and finally they considered that the appropriate methodology of imparting knowledge was not through the study of infallible books but by the study of the environment. These ideas were expounded by Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Dewey and others but, although they did not fail to reach Cyprus, the educational scene of the island was not conducive to reforms until the late 1930's. There are two main reasons for this state of affairs.

During the first fifty years of the British Administration the Chief Inspectors of Schools, i.e. Spencer and Newham, were clergymen. They were themselves educated in the classical tradition. The Greek Church leaders and the other nationalist leaders were also educated in the classical tradition. The study of classics stresses character training rather than education for living, which was the motto of the reformists in England and Europe. Therefore, neither the British Chief Inspectors of Schools nor the Greek leaders were in favour of such reforms.

The second main reason was that the political situation was not conducive to such changes, because most of the reformers, like Talbot and Cape, appeared to be the agents of a foreign Government and were, therefore, suspect of wishing to cut the links connecting the Greek Cypriots with their Greek classical heritage. Patriotic Greek Cypriots preferred no progress at all rather than progress with a foreign flavour. The following extract from a book written as late as 1954 by Dr. Spyridakis, headmaster of the Pancyprian Gymnasium, and leading educational thinker, illustrates the latter point:

> "Consistent with the principle of anglicizing the elementary schools in the island is the establishment of model schools. These function on a basis of English methods transplanted into Cyprus under the direction of the Education

> Department by few elementary school teachers who followed a post-graduate course in England ... At the same time English methods are obligatory [in these schools] for the teaching of Music, Art and Physical Drill in which special importance is placed."[38]

After the Colonial Government established full control over primary school teachers, through the Education Law of 1933, a concerted effort was made by the Department of Education to introduce "modern methods of teaching" into the primary schools. In September 1935 a new curriculum was introduced into the primary schools, which was conducive to the application of such methods. At the same time it served a political aim because it de-emphasised the History and Geography of Greece and introduced the English Language as a subject in the top two classes of the large primary schools. It was soon realised, however, that pre-service as well as in-service teacher training had to play an important part in bringing about a real change in the character of instruction being given in the schools of the island.[39]

The teaching staff of the Government Training Colleges were themselves trained in "modern methods" in the United Kingdom through Government scholarships and study leaves. On their return home they introduced those methods in the pre-service training of primary school teachers. Those "modern methods" emphasised child-centeredness, creativity and discovery on the part of the learner, as opposed to the "bookish" methods used earlier in the primary schools of Cyprus. They also made much use of audio-visual aids and pupils were encourage to see and do things themselves than learn them by heart from infallible text-books. Such methods were the "Project Method", the "Dalton Plan", the "Market Method" in elementary Arithmetic and the "Sentence Method" in teaching first reading. More important than these labels was the theory behind these methods, that pupil learn by doing than by reading from books. The staff of the Colleges promoted the adoption of the

above methods through their lecturing, and in conducting or supervising demonstration lessons and teaching practice.

It was obvious from the very beginning that the most convincing argument for the young student-teachers, who had been taught themselves in the traditional bookish methods, was to see those "modern methods" being applied in the Cypriot schools. For this reason several "model primary schools" were set up. The first "model school" was established in Nicosia in 1947. It was staffed largely by teachers who had been trained at the Teachers' Training Colleges, while the Headmaster and Assistant Headmaster of the school were trained in the United Kingdom. The object was to demonstrate "modern methods" in practice. The "model schools" were used in conjunction with teacher training and student-teachers observed in these schools "how teaching could be carried out in the best possible conditions and according to the best modern methods".[40]

The annual reports of the Department of Education make frequent references to these "modern methods". It was reported, for example, that in the academic year 1949-50 during their teaching practice at Ayios Andreas Model School, in Nicosia, the "Project Method" was tried by student-teachers, while at Ayios Antonios Model School, again in Nicosia, the "Dalton Plan was experimented with", the result being that the pupils showed "great enthusiasm" in their work. Similarly in the report for the academic year 1947-48 it was emphasised that an outstanding feature of the Mistresses Training Centre in Nicosia was "the original work done in the principles of teaching first reading" to young pupils, and that the method had been applied in a number of schools with "marked success".[41]

In an interview given to the author of this thesis (see Appendix A.4), Mrs. Antigoni Michaelidou, first Principal of the

Mistresses' Training Centre, outlined the methodological changes brought about in the following way:

> "The basic change we brought about was in the methodology of teaching. We taught methods of teaching of all subjects of the primary school curriculum and we placed a lot of emphasis on teaching practice. I was giving demonstration lessons myself at the model schools, and not only the mistresses under training attended them, but also older teachers usually asked for leave to observe those lessons. I introduced the 'sentence method of first reading' in the primary schools of Cyprus through my teaching at the Mistresses' Training Centre."[42]

It was realised, however, that the effect of "modern methods", taught at the Training Colleges and applied in the model schools, would have been only minimal if an extensive programme of in-service training for teachers trained in the traditional methods of teaching was not pursued with vigour. In an interview given to the author (see Appendix A.5), Dr. Sleight, the first Principal of the Teachers' Training College, and later Director of Education, stressed the following:

> "I realised that the effect of the inspectorate on schools was minimal. The school did not become a better place because it was inspected. So I introduced the "organising teachers". They had the grade of sub-inspector and were trained in England. Their role was advisory, not evaluatory. They had to go to a school to find out about the teaching situation in the class, to demonstrate the new methods, remedial teaching, etc., and they usually stayed at a school for one or two weeks. That scheme was considered very successful.
>
> Then I organised summer courses for the teachers. I had at my disposal three types of staff: the teaching staff of the (Training) Colleges, the inspectors and the organising teachers. The summer courses were fully residential. The courses took place in many locations, wherever there was a need. The teachers paid a small fee for these courses. Such was the morale of the profession."[43]

The first in-service course for primary school teachers was run as a summer course in 1947. It was run at a model school in Nicosia. Lecturers from the Government Training Colleges and the

headmaster of that school gave a course of lectures in the methodology of teaching of various school subjects.[44] In the summer of the following year the British Council and the Education Department, organised a two-week summer course for teachers of English.[45] However, greater emphasis on in-service training activities was placed in 1949 when a new syllabus was introduced in the primary schools. In that year about half of the serving teachers attended some type of summer course. Interest in in-serving courses was maintained unabated throughout the British Administration, an indication that the teachers considered these activities useful.[46]

Each of the summer courses usually lasted from one to two weeks and the main aims were, on the one hand to assist those who had not had the benefit of a course at the Government Training Colleges, and on the other hand to keep the rest of the teachers up to date. Each course comprised lectures, tutorials, discussion groups and demonstration lessons. Primary school children volunteered in sufficient numbers to form classes for demonstration purposes. The lecturers for these courses were the inspectors, the organising teachers, the teaching staff of the Training Colleges, the headmasters of the model schools and sometimes specialist lecturers from overseas, usually the United Kingdom.

In the beginning the courses were residential and were usually run at summer resorts. But year after year the demand was increasing and the authorities could not satisfy all the applicants. They therefore expanded the provision so that courses were run in all the six towns of the island and became non-residential. During these summer courses the participants availed themselves of the opportunity to produce materials for their personal use in school and to exchange ideas and experiences with colleagues. In that way the summer courses

developed into an integral part of the continuing education of the teachers and the "new methods" became part and parcel of their work.[47]

Besides the summer courses, which were carried out on a block basis, the diffusion of the new methods was pursued by the inspectorate and by the organising teachers. Practical activities, and demonstration lessons arranged on an ad hoc and local basis, were held in a number of central schools and a considerable number of area conferences of teachers, under the leadership of the inspectors and the organising teachers, gave a further chance to discuss day-to-day problems.[48] In some cases educational conferences on purely paedagogical subjects were organised by the local committees of the Primary School Teachers' Union.

5.1.4 The Professional Status of the Primary School Teachers

The first decisive step towards centralisation in the administration of primary education and at the same time towards the attainment of government employee status by primary school teachers, was the Elementary Education (Greek-Christian) Law of 1923. Under that law there was a concentration of powers and functions at the higher levels of the administrative hierarchy. Teachers were to be appointed by the Board of Education subject to the approval of the High Commissioner of the island, and paid according to a fixed scale of salaries, decided by the Board of Education, having regard to their classification and their years of service. The next step towards centralisation of primary education and of government control over primary school teachers was the Education Law of 1929. Under that law, primary school teachers were to be appointed directly by the Governor, and the only real power left to the Board of Education was control over

the curriculum and the text-books to be used in the primary schools. The final step in the process of centralisation and government control over primary education was the Elementary Education Law of 1933, whereby the Governor became the central authority for all matters concerned with elementary education. Centralisation and control over primary school teachers had certain marked effects on their professional position, as regards their salaries, their social status and their relation with their superiors.

Salaries of teachers are a major item in evaluating their professional status. This, however, must be done in comparison to other occupations. Unfortunately such comparisons are not always available, but certain reports are indicative of the situation. It was reported for example that in March 1923, a few months before the primary school teachers became government employees through the Elementary Education (Greek-Christian) Law of 1923, that the average salary of a male teacher in the villages was £70 a year, and in the town £104 a year; that compared badly with those of the junior ranks of the civil service. Thus, messengers earned £66 a year, fourth division clerks £96-£150, third division £190-£230, second division £280-£300 and first division ones £340-£400.[49] When the new law came into operation in September 1923, the immediate improvement in the teachers' salaries was minor, but they were at least sure of regular payment. As finally settled by the Board of Education, the following pay scales were attached to the four classes of teachers: first class £110-£130, second class £92-£108, third class £78-£90 and fourth class (not properly qualified) £65-£75. The majority of teachers belonged to the lower two classes.[50]

These pay scales remained in force until January 1930, when they were revised upwards, following the new education law of 1929.[51]

But they still compared unfavourably with other government employees, although in the eyes of many villagers teachers' salaries were something to envy. Sir Ralph Oakden, the Financial Commissioner, who in 1935 reported on the finances and economic resources of Cyprus, made the following recommendations:

> "Few comments are necessary in regard to the pay drawn by Cypriot officers. I have already referred to the fact that the majority of witnesses considered that the pay of these officers was excessive: a general conclusion with which I am unable to agree. A more specific complaint, frequently made, was that the salaries of schoolmasters and schoolmistresses were too high. It was represented to me that the present rates constitute fantastic increases on those paid before Government assumed the responsibility for such salaries in 1930, that the majority of school-teachers were able to live cheaply in villages (especially as their houses are rent-free), and that it was out of all reason that the pay of school-teachers should absorb 15% of the budget and should still be an increasing charge (due to the incidence of increments)...
>
> While I am prepared to accept the view that certain schoolmasters and schoolmistresses in rural areas are highly paid if regard is had to the decreased incomes which are being received by most rural producers and that if the financial position deteriorates a reduction in teachers' salaries would be defensible, I do not think that a sufficiently strong case has been made out for reducing at present the salaries paid to this particular class of officials, especially if it is considered that out of a total number of 1,321 teachers only 142 are in the first two grades. And actually the salaries of school-teachers compare very unfavourably with those of other Government employees. After a comparatively expensive education, the newly appointed schoolmaster receives no more than a leper farm guard or a plantation guard of four years' service - men who require little or no education whatsoever. Even after six years on the permanent staff the school-teacher only rises to the second-year salary of a railway conductor or chargeman. The importance of retaining a contented body of teachers is self-evident."[52]

What is certain from this report is that the salaries of teachers before 1923 (when they were paid by the local School Committees) were very low and irregularly paid. They did not improve dramatically as a result of the 1923 education law, but they became regular, as they were paid by the Government. As a result of the 1929 education law they were raised to a certain extent, but they still

fared badly compared with the salaries earned by civil servants. The posts of primary school teachers were not pensionable but earned gratuities.

The constant aim of the primary school teachers has been to reach parity in salaries with civil servants, a class of employee much envied, especially by the rural population. The comment by Oakden in 1935, that "the importance of retaining a contented body of teachers is self-evident" probably guided British thinking on the matter. After 1935 the salaries of primary school teachers were revised upwards on six occasions in 15 years (see Appendix A.6). Although they did not reach complete parity with those of civil servants they were considerably improved and helped to retain a contented body of teachers.

In 1944 an old demand of the primary school teachers was satisfied. Through the "Elementary Education (Amendment) Law of 1944" (Law 3/1944), they were granted pension rights with retrospective effect as from September 1942.[53] By the same law the retirement age was fixed as 60 for male teachers and 55 for female ones, and the pension was computed as 1/720th of their highest salary for each month of service. Later, by the "Elementary Education (Amendment) Law of 1947" (Law 13/1947) the retirement age was fixed at 55 for all teachers, on a pension of 1/600th of their highest salary for each complete month of service.[54] The Government probably wanted through that device to get rid of old teachers who continued to practice some unacceptable methods of teaching.

With the increased number of girl pupils, especially after World War II, the importance of the primary schoolmistress became greater. Yet the "Elementary Education Law of 1933" (Law 18/1933) provided that a schoolmistress on the permanent staff register would cease to be a teacher on marriage.[55] The "Elementary Education

(Amendment) Law of 1949" (Law 1/1949) altered that provision so as to enable a schoolmistress to continue her service, even after marriage, and to receive a gratuity or pension on retirement, according to the provisions of the law.[56]

The steady improvement in the salaries of the primary school teachers and the granting of gratuity and/or pension on retirement had a very beneficial effect on the quality of young people recruited to the teaching profession. The social status of primary school teachers was certainly improved. According to the Report of the Department of Education for the period 1945 to 1947:

> "The increased salary scales and the introduction of a pension scheme similar to that of Government officials have very appreciably enhanced the status of the teacher and attracted more and better qualified entrants. Normally the number of applicants is at least four times the number of vacancies.[57]

The primary school teachers also acquired a new professionalism. During the period of the Normal Schools (1893-1935) the teaching profession was open to any pupil who was good enough to be promoted to the first training class of the training course from the previous form of his school. In other words the number of teachers in training was not controlled and in that way there was an oversupply of teachers, with the result that both their salaries and their status were kept low. During the period of the Government Colleges the number of training places was matched more or less with the projected vacancies in schools; the teachers acquired a new sense of professionalism, were well paid and their status was improved considerably.

Another matter relating to the professional position of primary school teachers is their relations with their superiors. During the period of the Normal Schools (1893-1935) the school was a

community institution; the teachers were appointed by the local School Committees and they were held responsible by them for the efficiency of teaching. Teachers resented such employer-employee relationship because they considered the local Committees incompetent and unprofessional - and they usually were so. Later, during the period 1923 to 1929, when they were appointed or transferred by the Board of Education, which was dominated by the politicians, they came under the influence of the politicians, a situation which they again resented. The Elementary Education Law of 1933 gave the elementary school system its centralised form. The school now became a Government institution and the teacher became a Government employee. Obviously the new employer-employee relationship between the Government and the teachers was preferred by the teachers, because it offered them security, better salaries and a professional dignity never enjoyed before.

In the new situation the assessment of the efficiency of teaching became directly the province of the inspectorate. Up to 1923 the inspectorate had as their main function to inspect the teaching in the three R's, to liaise with the local School Committees and to report to the Chief Inspector of Schools about the efficiency of teaching. Their reports were communicated to the Board of Education, but not to the local School Committees which appointed and dismissed the teachers. After 1923 the position of the inspectorate became more influential because the Board of Education, to which their reports were communicated, acquired responsibility for the appointment, transfer and promotion of teachers.

The inspectors were expected to give teachers advice on educational matters. In that respect their influence, during the first fifty years of the British Administration, was almost negligible because the people who were appointed as inspectors were teachers who

had no more qualifications than the teachers whom they inspected. They did not receive any appreciably higher salaries than their subordinates, and they had to travel most of the time on horseback, staying most of the nights of the year away from home, sleeping wherever accommodation was available. No wonder few people volunteered for this job; there were even cases where inspectors gave up their posts to return to teaching.[58]

The enactment of the 1929 Elementary Education Law was a turning point for the role of the inspectorate. The responsibility of appointing, transferring and promoting teachers were taken away from the Board of Education and thrust all of a sudden on the officers of the Department of Education - the Chief Inspector and the inspectors. Obviously the position of the inspectorate became very influential in such a centralised system.

The position of the inspectorate during the period of the Government Training Colleges (1935-1959) was enhanced by their re-education. Scholarships were awarded to inspectors, organising teachers, and other promising teachers who later served as inspectors, to study in British colleges and universities the new methods of teaching.[59] On their return to Cyprus, the effect of this further training was felt in the schools. The inspectors were in a better position to help and advise the teachers during their visits, and in addition they organised summer courses for the teachers. Their counselling role became more important, at least in theory, but they retained their administrative role. In fact after 1956 their administrative role became more marked. Inspectors were given full responsibility over the area allotted to them and also a free hand to experiment and do their work as they themselves knew best, with as little interference from the central headquarters as possible.[60]

The centralisation in the administration of elementary education during the period of the Government Colleges was so complete that little initiative was left to the teachers. Government control meant better salaries, pensions and security of tenure, but also complete dependence on the will of the Government. Everything was laid down from the top to be followed obediently by the teachers, without giving them any right to discuss the various rules, regulations and circulars of the Department of Education.

5.2 Government Attempts to Control Secondary Schools and Teachers

Up to 1935 the Colonial Government was concerned mainly with primary education and gave very little attention to secondary education. By that year full (six-year) secondary schools were established in all six towns, and lower secondary schools in most of the larger villages. These schools could be classified into "public" and "private". Public secondary schools were under the control of the Church, which made a major contribution towards their expenses. They received a small Government grant, under the provisions of successive elementary education laws, which in 1935 was equal to 10 per cent of the average annual yield of taxes earmarked for primary education. This grant was originally given to those secondary schools which trained primary school teachers, but it was later extended to all secondary schools of the towns. Most of the "public" secondary schools were classical gymnasia and followed the programme laid down for such schools by the Greek Ministry of Public Instruction, thereby enabling their graduates to be admitted into the universities of Greece without any further examination. Private secondary schools were established by private individuals and their curriculum usually had a commercial

orientation. Some secondary schools, especially the private ones, received government grants in aid of teaching English as a foreign language. Pupils paid schools fees of varying amounts in both the public and the private schools. Up to 1935 the Government neither controlled nor inspected the secondary schools of the island.[61]

Secondary schools in Cyprus have always been centres of the "enosis" movement (i.e. union with Greece), and this was well-known to the British Officials in the island. But in line with the official policy of the London Government, laid down as long as 1881 by Kimberly, they refrained from interfering with secondary education. The 1931 revolt, however, forced the British to change their attitude towards Cyprus, and in particular to reverse their laissez-faire policy on secondary education to one of direct interference. In a despatch to the Colonial Office in 1933, Governor Stubbs analysed the principles of the proposed new policy as follows:

> "Educationally the primary objects of control [of secondary schools] should be: to subject to control, in the light of actual and practical needs, the present rigid conformity of most of the instruction with exclusively academic standards set at Athens...; to extend the teaching of English and, if possible, the employment for this purpose of English masters; to see that the teachers appointed are properly qualified and to give them security of tenure in their appointment; and, as far as this may be practicable, to introduce into the curricula subjects and text-books calculated to inspire in the pupils a higher conception of their responsibilities as Cypriots and of the position of Cyprus as part of the British Empire".[62]

However the implementation of British-oriented secondary education courses was handicapped by financial and curricular considerations. Full transfer of control over secondary education to British hands was uneconomic for the Government since it would entail the spending of large amounts of money, which in the economic strigency of the 1930's was not a viable proposition. Partial Government

control, in the form of grants-in-aid, was likely to be rejected by the "public" schools, whose Governing Bodies were controlled by the Greek Orthodox Church, if such grants carried any conditions diminishing the supremacy of the Church in their administration. The curriculum issue was even more difficult for the Government. The curriculum of the Greek Cypriot secondary schools was laid down by the Greek Ministry of Public Instruction in Athens, and those schools which followed that curriculum were recognised by that Ministry as equivalent to those functioning in Greece. This recognition meant that graduates of such schools could, as "Greeks of the diaspora", be accepted in the universities of Greece without entrance examinations. Therefore any change in the curriculum of secondary schools, so as to conform to the educational policy of the Colonial Government, required the approval of the Greek Ministry of Public Instruction.

The only way to tackle the problem of the secondary school curriculum for those pupils who aspired to university studies was to provide alternative avenues for such studies. This could be done by subsidising higher studies in British universities or by establishing a British University in Cyprus itself. On the other hand, university education was only one path available to secondary school pupils. There were other post-secondary education courses in Cyprus, such as the training of primary school teachers, which the Colonial Government could control much more easily and it did in fact do so in 1937. Then there was direct employment in the Civil Service which was controlled by the Government. The Government could set the requirements of entry into the Teachers' Training Colleges and into the Civil Service, which meant that the curriculum of secondary schools had to take account of these requirements. Then the Government could set up its own secondary schools providing alternative paths to secondary education. Finally,

the Government could resort to legislation and financial aid (carrying with it certain conditions) to control the Greek secondary schools. In fact the Government promoted all four ways of controlling secondary education, i.e.

(a) the use of legislative power and financial aid;

(b) the provision of alternative types of secondary education;

(c) the setting of Government examinations; and

(d) the provision of Government scholarships in British colleges and universities.

5.2.1 Use of Legislative Power and Financial Aid

The law in force in 1935 concerning secondary education was "The Secondary Education Law of 1905" (Law 10/1905), whose aim had been to establish some minimum efficiency in the administration of secondary schools. The Law defined the membership of the Governing Bodies that administered secondary schools and defined their duties. Under the Law the Governing Bodies had the following duties:

> "1. To frame Regulations from time to time prescribing the curriculum and course of instruction to be followed in schools, the fees to be paid by the pupils attending the schools, and the duties of the school teachers.
> 2. To provide all necessary school buildings and premises.
> 3. To appoint and dismiss the school teachers ...
> 4. To fix the salaries to be paid to the school teachers, so far as the funds available will permit.
> 5. To hear and determine complaints relative to the management and control of schools."[63]

The first attempt by the Government to establish some measure of control over all secondary schools, their curricula and their teachers was the enactment of the "Secondary Education Law of 1935" (Law 25/1935). The Law made obligatory the registration of all secondary schools. Every application for registration was to be made

to the Director of Education by the Governing Body of the secondary school concerned, and was to provide full particulars concerning the curriculum which it was proposed to adopt, the books to be used and the names, nationality, qualifications, salaries and duties of all teachers to be employed at such school. The Director of Education could refuse to issue the necessary certificate of registration for a school, whereupon its Governing Body could appeal to the Governor whose decision was to be final and conclusive. Changes regarding the Governing Body, its financial resources, the teaching staff, the curriculum, the books in use and the school premises were to be brought to the notice of the Director of Education at the beginning of each school year, and he could cancel the registration of the school if he considered the changes improper.[64]

All secondary schools were to be open to Government inspection with regard to the tuition and attendance of pupils, the sanitary and hygenic conditions of the school premises, and the names, qualifications and duties of all persons employed in or in connection with a school.[65] The Director of Education could prohibit the use in any secondary school of any book which in his opinion was "seditious, immoral, educationally unsound or otherwise harmful".[66] A school could be struck off the "Register of Secondary Schools" by the Director of Education if it was shown to the satisfaction of the Governor that it was "conducted in a manner subversive to good Government or social order in Cyprus" or if "seditious and disloyal teaching" was imparted in that school.[67]

Under the same law every secondary school teacher was required to register and be issued with a teaching licence, if the Director of Education was satisfied that such a person was "educationally, morally and in all other respects a fit and proper

person to be a secondary school teacher."[68] Likewise, the Director of Education, could suspend any secondary school teacher if it appeared to him to have imparted "immoral, seditious or disloyal" teaching or to have acted for purposes "subversive to good government and social order of the Colony of Cyprus".[69]

The law was denounced by the Church, but there was little they could do.[70] The significance of the control vested by this law in the Government was manifested during the political tension of the 1950's, when it was used to combat political opposition to the Government. In the academic year 1955-56, for example, several secondary schools were closed down by the Government and many teachers were suspended for antigovernment activities.[71]

Under the law, the Governor-in-Council could make regulations for most matters concerned with secondary education, including the educational qualifications required for the registration of secondary school teachers.[72] In exercise of these powers, the Governor issued on the 6th of March, 1936, the very day the Law came into operation, "The Secondary Education Regulations of 1936". These Regulations abolished all existing grants to secondary schools and laid down new conditions for the award of a grant. The most important condition for the award of a grant was that the school should satisfy the Director of Education as to its curriculum, the number of hours allotted to each subject and the books used in the school. For the teaching of English a special grant was to be paid, provided the curriculum included at least six hours of English a week in each class.[73]

The condition that a school to be entitled to a grant should satisfy the Director of Education as to its curriculum meant in effect the abandonment of the existing Greek-oriented curriculum, already

approved by the Greek Ministry of Public Instruction and entitling the school-leavers of such recognised gymnasia to free entry into Greek universities. Out of the six "public" secondary schools of the towns, three accepted Government financial aid in return for prospective changes in their curriculum, and three rejected the offer. Similarly, out of the nine "public" secondary schools of the villages, three schools accepted the Government offer. Private schools were excluded from participating in the Government grant, but in later years some assistance was given for the teaching of English.[74]

In 1937 the Director of Education drew a draft British-oriented curriculum for those schools which were willing to accept Government financial aid. According to this curriculum almost one third of the school time was to be devoted to the teaching of the English Language, and in addition, in the top two classes English was to be the medium of instruction in History, Geography and Commerce. The choice of subjects to be taken in the final examination was to be such as to enable the pupils to matriculate at British universities. These changes, of course, were to be implemented in full over a period of six years.[75]

However, the change in curriculum meant very little in itself, because there was no change of heart among the secondary school teachers. On the other hand the post-war British policy of liberalisation made non-conformity to Government conditions for a grant easier. In fact these conditions were relaxed some years later, through the Secondary Education Regulations of 1948.[76] The conditions relating to the instruction of History and Geography in the English language were never observed, because no secondary school could really afford to carry on without recognition from the Greek Ministry of Public Instruction. In the end only the increase of the teaching of

English as a subject was observed. According to Spyridakis, Principal of the Pancyprian Gymnasium,

> "The first condition with regard to the curriculum was the increase in the periods of teaching English, which in certain schools were increased to 12 a week; the decrease in the periods of teaching Ancient Greek and a corresponding increase in the periods of teaching Modern Greek; and the teaching of certain subjects, such as History and Geography, in English. The teaching of Ancient Greek was reduced from eight to three periods per week in spite of the fact the schools were termed "classical" and were recognised as such by the Greek Government. The initial conditions with regard to the curriculum were altered by successive decrees, the Director of Education [finally] contenting himself with the increase in the periods of teaching English only, and therefore the partial decrease of the teaching periods of other subjects."[77]

In the years following World War II there was increased political mobilisation in Cyprus, culminating in the 1955-59 revolution, in which secondary school pupils took an active part. The Greek Orthodox Church set up in 1950 the "Educational Council of the Ethnarchy", a policy-making body on education in order to co-ordinate the opposition to Government control of secondary education. Two years later, the Colonial Government made another attempt to bring under its control the Greek secondary schools, by employing its financial and legislative powers.

The "Secondary Education (Amendment) Law of 1952" (Law 18/1952) provided for a new kind of secondary school, the "public-aided" secondary school, declared as such by the Governor on the application of the Governing Body of any public Greek secondary school.[78] Under that law, the Governor was empowered, in relation to public-aided schools, to appoint and transfer their teachers, to fix the scales of their salaries and their pensions or/and gratuities and to make regulations as to the qualifications required of them. In return for this control over the teachers of public-aided secondary

schools, the law provided that the Government would pay their salaries and pensions and/or gratuities out of the public revenue. School fees paid by pupils were, under the law, to be limited to £15 per year.[79]

The provision concerning the qualifications of secondary school teachers had the effect of lowering their qualifications. The Director of Education laid down as the minimum qualifications for secondary school teachers a pass at credit level in the appropriate subjects of the Cyprus Certificate of Education Examinations. These examinations were used as entry qualifications to the Civil Service and the Teachers' Training Colleges. As expected, there was a strong reaction to this decision of the Director of Education from the qualified secondary school teachers. But the proprietors of the private schools took advantage of that. At the same time the Government offered to the teachers of the public-aided secondary schools very high salaries.[80]

In the politically active atmosphere of the 1950's there was a strong reaction against the new education law. Only one Greek secondary school, the Commercial High School of the village of Polemi, applied to become a public-aided school.[81] Against a background of political unrest the Government lost all influence over Greek secondary schools. During the Cyprus Revolution of 1955-59 many secondary school pupils were involved in anti-government activities.[82]

5.2.2 Provision of Alternative Types of Secondary Education

Another attempt by the Colonial Government to control secondary school teachers was the provision of alternative types of secondary education, not yet provided in Cyprus, in Government institutions, namely agricultural and technical secondary schools. The

public Greek secondary schools followed the classical curriculum laid down by the Greek Ministry of Public Instruction, and their chief method of mastering the subject-matter taught was through "infallible" text-books. Ancient Greek received more attention than any other subject of the curriculum, very little time was given to laboratory work in the study of Science, and there was almost no place for craft subjects. The curriculum was humanistic in character and its underlying political significance was that it oriented pupils towards Greece. It socialised the pupils in the ideals of national heritage, and national resurrection.[83]

The first agricultural secondary school was the "Rural Central School" at Morphou. It was formally opened on 1st of October, 1940, in the same grounds as the Teachers' Training College, Morphou, under the same Principal (Dr. Sleight). It provided a two-year post-primary course of practical agriculture for sons of farmers. The boys lived in the dormitories of the school under rural conditions and no fees were charged for board or tuition. The school provided for both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots and the whole object of their education was to assist them to become practical and progressive farmers, rather than semi-experts who would aspire to white-collar jobs in the Department of Agriculture. The school was also used as a convenient place for agricultural instruction of the students of the Teachers' Training College, and for a third year of study for a small percentage of recently qualified graduates of the College, who showed a real aptitude for agricultural work and were interested in becoming teachers in Rural Middle Schools, whose establishment was planned at that time.[84]

Owing to the war conditions the Rural Central School at Morphou had a difficult start. Staffing by full-time teachers could

not be achieved. Staffing by secondment with officers from the Department of Agriculture was usually resented and temporary appointments could not bring the staff of the school to full strength. Eventually three scholars, two of whom were ex-students of the Teachers' Training College and had spent a third year at the Rural Central School, were sent for a three-years' course in Agriculture to a Scottish College, and on their return in September 1948, they were appointed as teachers to the school.[85] Also, owing to pressure for accommodation at the Teachers' Training College, it became necessary, as from September 1948 to accommodate students of the College in buildings properly belonging to the Rural Central School. This reduced the space available for the pupils to around 40 places.[86] Two years later (in 1950) another Rural Central School was established at Pergamos to accommodate the Turkish Cypriot pupils, and the one at Morphou was used after that time solely for Greek Cypriot pupils.[87] The Government agricultural schools failed to attract large numbers of pupils. Their number remained around 40 at Morphou and around 30 at Pergamos, representing about half of a per cent of the pupils that received secondary schooling each year in the 1950's.[88]

The first secondary technical school, the Apprentices' Training Centre, was established in Nicosia in March 1946, in co-operation with the Public Works Department, and was under the control of the Department of Education. The Centre provided a five-year technological course in electrical, mechanical and allied trades concurrently with practical training carried out in the workshops of the Public Works Department or of approved private employers. The language of instruction was English because it was the only language common to Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots who attended the Centre, and because there was a more satisfactory range of textbooks and

technical journals in English than in either of the other languages. Still another reason was that the Apprentices' Training Centre aimed at preparing its pupils for the examinations of the City and Guilds of the London Institute. The apprentices were required to be at least fifteen years of age, to have completed an elementary school, and to have passed a written and oral entrance examination. They received an allowance during their studies. The annual intake was 20 apprentices.[89]

In 1952 Dr. F. J. Harlow, adviser on technical education to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, visited Cyprus in order to study and advise on the future development of technical education.[90] In his report to the Secretary of State, Dr. Harlow recommended the introduction of an "integrated scheme" of technical education at three levels : the Preparatory Technical School, the Technical Trades School and the Technical Institute level.[91] The Harlow Report was accepted by the Government and in 1956 they started a project for the expansion of technical education, costing about £1,500,000. A fine building to accommodate up to 1000 pupils and students, and to incorporate all three levels of technical education suggested by Harlow, was built in Nicosia. Another building to be used for the first two levels and to accommodate 900 pupils was constructed in Limassol and plans for similar buildings in the other towns were drawn up.[92] An amount of £100,000 was allocated to the Department of Education for the period 1956-61 to provide scholarships for training Cypriots in technical subjects in British universities and technological colleges, who on their return home were to staff the technical schools.[93] A total of 32 engineers was trained under that scholarship programme.[94] Despite such large investment by the Colonial Government in technical education, attendance at these schools was unsatisfactory. Only a small

percentage, around two per cent, attended the Government controlled technical schools.[95]

One reason for the low attendance at the Government secondary technical schools was the boycot launched against such schools by the nationalists and openly promoted by EOKA, the secret revolutionary organisation, during the Cyprus revolution of 1955-59. Dr. Spyridakis, the headmaster of the Pancyprian Gymnasium, who was the architect of the educational policy of the Greek Cypriot nationalists, opposed the establishment of Government technical schools because he considered technical education only as a complement to liberal education and not a substitute. This can be derived from the educational policy he himself followed after independence when he was in charge of education. The general mass of the Greek Cypriots did not disapprove of technical education as such, but boycotted the Government technical schools precisely because they were controlled by the foreign Government.

Another reason for the low attendance of technical school was socioeconomic. The industrial development of the island was such that technical skills of a specialised character were not then in great demand, and technical jobs were not particularly attractive in terms of renumeration and social prestige. Classical education was more rewarding both in financial and social terms than technical or agricultural education.

5.2.3 Setting of Government Examinations

The Colonial Government was unsuccessful in controlling the existing Greek secondary schools or in attracting large numbers to its own technical and agricultural secondary school. But it was able to

influence the curriculum of all secondary schools by setting external examinations in the English language and in other subjects. Passes in these examinations were used as entry qualifications for the Cyprus Civil Service and the Teachers' Training Colleges which were under Government control.

A good knowledge of English was a practical necessity for all those pupils who were not destined to follow higher studies in Greek universities. The increasing commercialisation of the Cyprus economy, in the domains of business and banking, especially after World War II, demanded increased knowledge of English and of commercial subjects. Greek private secondary schools, following a commercially biased curriculum with increased teaching of English, therefore became popular and presented a real challenge to the public secondary schools which followed a classical curriculum. The latter were forced to set up themselves commercial branches with increased teaching of English. Thus in the academic year 1958-59 there were 16 classical secondary schools and 16 commercial secondary schools.[96] But the greater challenge came not from the expansion of the teaching of English or of commercial subjects, but from the setting of external examinations by the Government.

As early as 1901 the Government was conducting examinations in the subject of English for those who applied to be employed in the Government Service. The examination was divided into "lower" and "higher" standards called "Ordinary" and "Distinction".[97] As from 1904 all civil servants, except those in subordinate positions, were required to have passed the "Ordinary" examination in English in order to have their provisional appointments comfirmed.[98] In 1932 a regulation was issued by which no primary school teacher was to be promoted to a higher class unless he had passed the "Ordinary"

examination in English.[99] As from September 1938 this requirement was upgraded, and no primary school teacher was to be appointed or promoted without having passed the "Distinction" examination in English.[100] The entrance examinations of the Teachers' Training Colleges, included, an examination in English and the language of instruction of the College at Morphou was English. As from September 1935 a new curriculum was introduced in the primary schools, which provided for the teaching of English as a subject in the top two classes of the larger schools. In secondary schools English had long been established as the first foreign language of the curriculum.[101]

In the academic year 1950-1951 the Colonial Government inaugurated a new examination which replaced all the previous ones. It was called "The Cyprus Certificate of Education Examination", and at first comprised the following subjects : English Lower, English Higher, Greek Lower, Greek Higher, Turkish Lower, Turkish Higher, Mathematics A (Arithmetic), Mathematics B (Algebra and Geometry), History and Geography. The syllabus for these subjects was based on the General Certificate of Education Examination of London University, with local modifications. Candidates could sit for any number of subjects they liked and, if successful in a subject, they were rated at "pass", "credit" or "distinction".[102] Passes at "credit" or "distinction" level were recognised as exempting from the corresponding subjects of the London General Certificate of Education at "ordinary" level.[103]

The Cyprus Certificate of Education examinations presented a real challenge to the Greek secondary schools. Never before had there been such pressure on Greek secondary schools to change their curriculum from Greek-oriented to British-oriented.[104] Spyridakis saw it as a "super-secondary school leaving certificate" instituted by the Colonial Government for the purpose of "anglicizing" the schools.[105]

During the first four years (1951-1954) the number of pupils taking the examinations rose by leaps and bounds, but fell dramatically during the armed conflict of 1955-59, when the revolutionary organisation EOKA urged the people to boycott them.[106] Passes in these examinations were recognised by the Government as qualifications for entry into the Civil Service, and the Teachers' Training Colleges, or even for appointment to the post of secondary school teacher. Most private secondary schools modified to a certain extent their curriculum, but the public ones, which were controlled by the Church, followed the policy of the Educational Council of the Ethnarchy and refused to do so. In this way, pupils who aspired to government employment had to attend secondary schools which prepared for the Cyprus Certificate of Education examinations. Entrants to the legal profession also had to get an English type of education; after 1936 no person could be enrolled as an advocate in Cyprus unless he had qualified in the United Kingdom.[107] Private schools gradually changed their curriculum to serve the new needs.

The school that was really designed to serve all these needs was the "English School", at Nicosia. This school was established in 1900 by Newham, Chief Inspector of Schools (later Director of Education), and was functioning as a private school. In December 1935 the Government took over control of the English School. According to Cullen, Director of Education at that time, it was intended "to make the school a model of English education in the Colony, to exemplify the Government's conception of what other secondary schools should become".[108] The school was to cater for all communities and a maximum of 400 pupils was envisaged at that time. The English School frequently became the target of attack by Spyridakis for its alleged anti-hellenic character.[109] In the 1950's psychological pressure from

the Church and the revolutionary organisation EOKA was put on both pupils and teachers to abandon the English School, and indeed all government-controlled schools, and join the public Greek secondary schools. Those private foreign schools which used English as the medium of instruction, such as the American Academies, also became the target of this campaign. The campaign was largely successful.[110]

Besides administering the Cyprus Certificate of Education examinations, the Department of Education also conducted external examinations, such as the General Certificate of Education and external degree examinations, of the London University and the qualifying examinations of the London Chamber of Commerce. Coupled with the promotion of the teaching of English in secondary schools (through grants-in-aid, inspection and in-service courses for teachers of English), the Colonial Government created the language and academic foundations for studies in English Universities. In fact this was another avenue of indirect control of secondary education which was also promoted.

5.2.4 Provision of Government Scholarships

In 1930 the Government started a scholarship scheme to provide scholarships for Cypriots in British colleges and universities. The British Council joined in this effort but the total number of scholarships available was insignificant, usually one or two a year.[111] In 1946, as a result of the "Ten-year Development Programme", a new scholarship scheme was inaugurated. Under this scheme over 120 Cypriots from 10 Government Departments received further training in their specialisation in British higher education institutions, and 34 of these were taken up by personnel from the Education Department.[112]

In 1956 an amount of £240,000 was allocated to the Education Department for the the award of scholarships in British colleges and universities to promising school-leavers,over the period 1956-1961. The scholarships obliged the holders to work for the Government on completion of their course. Another £100,000 was also provided for the same period for the award of open scholarships not carrying such conditions. About 130 Cypriots were trained that way over this five-year period, and on their return they staffed the Government secondary schools.[113]

However, the provision of these Government scholarship to train young school-leavers as secondary school teachers could not meet the demand for such teachers. The Government thought seriously about establishing a university in Cyprus, but never progressed beyond the point of discussion. To counterbalance the Government scholarship programme the Education Council of the Ethnarchy persuaded the Greek Government in 1952 to institute its own scheme of scholarships in Greek universities. In the meantime the secondary school population was expanding at a much faster rate and the Greek secondary schools had to employ more and more secondary school teachers from mainland Greece.[114]

Over the years Greek universities remained the main source of attraction for Greek Cypriot students. The Greek Cypriot secondary schools followed the academic curriculum of the schools of Greece, and this prepared their pupils for higher studies in their mother tongue; they could be accepted in Greek universities without entrance examinations and paid no tuition fees as "Greeks of the diaspora"; if they were subsequently employed as secondary school teachers in a recognised school in Cyprus they were entitled to pension benefits instituted by the Greek Government. On the other hand the cost of living in Greece was much lower than in England.

Against a background of political activism and violence of

the 1950's, the Colonial Government failed to control secondary schools and teachers. Several secondary schools were closed down by the Government and many pupils and teachers were imprisoned or detained. In the summer of 1956 the Government ordered the deportation of all Greek native secondary school teachers, about 130 in number, for alleged subversive political activities.[115]

5.3 The Education and Professional Status of Secondary School Teachers

The period of the Teachers' Training Colleges is also the period of rapid increase in the number of pupils receiving secondary schooling. Thus while in 1935-36 there were only 3,485 Cypriot pupils receiving some form of secondary education, by 1958-59 their number had increased by seven times, to 24,639 (see Appendix A.7). The increase was more marked for girl-pupils.[116] This expansion created an accute staffing problem. Native Greek secondary school teachers had to be employed in larger numbers, so that in the 1950's they formed about a quarter of the staff employed in Greek secondary schools.[117] Unqualified teachers were also used, especially in private secondary schools.

From the available statistics (see Appendix A.8), during the 1950's only a minority of about 45 per cent of secondary school teachers were properly qualified with university degrees or equivalent qualifications in the subject-matter of their specialisation. As regards paedagogical training, again only a minority of about 35 per cent had any training whatsoever. Yet that training cannot be considered satisfactory by any standards. The annual reports of the Department of Education for this period give no further details about this training. When interviewing Dr. Sleight, Director of Education at

that time, the author raised that question. He explained that "trained" secondary school teachers, as used in his reports, refers mainly to two categories of teachers. Those teachers who attended a course of lectures in their last year of studies at the University of Athens, and those retired primary school teachers who, in times of acute shortage, were employed mainly by private secondary schools to teach in their lower classes (see answer to question 13 in Appendix A.5). Anyway, paedagogical training was never a prerequisite for their appointment, and in-service training of secondary school teachers was not systematically pursued, as it was the case with primary school teachers. Some in-service summer courses were organised by the Education Department, but these were mainly concerned with the teaching of English in secondary schools.[118]

Another reason for the low standard of the qualifications of secondary school teachers was the decision of the Director of Education to lay down, as he was entitled to do under existing legislation, the minimum qualifications required of secondary school teachers as a pass at credit level in the appropriate subject of the Cyprus Certificate of Education. Teachers with degree qualifications protested strongly against this decision of the Government and threatened to go on strike. The proprietors of the private schools, however, made much use of this lowering of required qualifications for reasons of economy.

Secondary school teachers enjoyed a high social prestige in the Cypriot society. After World War II parents were able, by reason of their increased earnings, to meet the comparatively low cost of secondary education for their children, and the number of secondary school pupils, as explained earlier, increased dramatically. This shows the great value attached to education by parents and pupils alike. Better salaries and social prestige for the teachers was a

result of that expansion of secondary education.[119] The salaries of secondary school teachers were not unattractive. For the few teachers in Government-controlled secondary schools, they were in fact very attractive. For those employed in the Greek secondary schools - public and private - they mostly depended on the laws of supply and demand. As the demand was rising salaries tended to rise. A secondary school teacher was normally engaged by the Governing Body of a school on a yearly contract. In 1953 the public secondary schools, which were under the control of the Education Council of the Ethnarchy, worked out fixed salary scales for their teachers, depending on qualifications and experience. The following extract from the report of the Department of Education for 1949-50 gives an idea of the relativities of teachers salaries in primary and secondary schools at that time:

> "The average salary of a secondary school teacher is approximately £350. The normal range is from £300 to £500 for a well qualified teacher of experience. The average salary and bonus for an elementary school teacher is £350."[120]

Throughout the British rule of Cyprus there has been a clear distinction between primary and secondary school teachers. Primary school teachers were paedagogically trained, up to 1935 in Normal Schools forming part of selected gymnasia, and afterwards in Government Teachers' Training Colleges by way of a two-years course. Secondary school teachers were not professionally trained. After 1923 primary school teachers became Government employees, with fixed salary scales and pension/gratuity benefits. This was not the case for secondary school teachers, except for those few employed in Government schools. After independence this latter distinction disappeared, but the difference in their academic and professional preparation remained.

CHAPTER 6

MAJOR ISSUES IN THE EDUCATION AND PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF TEACHERS DURING THE COLONIAL TIMES

It is one of the aims of this thesis to survey, analyse and discuss the historical evolution of the system of education and professional development of teachers in Cyprus, focussing attention on the following six themes or issues:

1. The methods of recruitment of teachers, their motives for choosing teaching as a career and their socioeconomic and educational backgrounds,
2. the content and organisation of the pre-service training of teachers,
3. the problems of induction of teachers during their early years of service,
4. the content and organisation of the inservice training of teachers,
5. the professional status of teachers as a function of their pre-service and in-service training, and
6. the main factors in the formulation of policies for the education and professional development of teachers in Cyprus.

The above themes or issues have been identified as important through a pilot study.[1*] In the previous chapters they have been analysed in the context in which each one of them emerged during colonial times. The purpose of this chapter is to summarise their

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* Notes and references to this chapter start on page 882.

salient aspects and discuss their interrelations during that period. They will be further discussed in Chapter 11 as pertaining to the post-independence period, and in Chapter 16 they will be considered in a generalised way having also regard to the views of "experts" and "officials", who influence or make educational policies.

6.1 The Recruitment of Teachers

The beginning of the Greek Cypriot system of education can be dated from 1830, the year in which the first community primary and secondary schools were established and local School Committees were elected to administer them. During the following 50 years of Turkish Occupation and the first 15 years of the British Administration (1878-1892) primary school teachers were not legally required to be qualified. Thus in 1892, out of a total of 268 primary school teachers only five were professionally trained. Very few teachers were graduates from a "hellenic school", i.e. semigymnasium, whereas the rest were semiliterate. Schools were supported by voluntary contributions and, after 1881, partly by small Government grants-in-aid. But collecting local contributions was very difficult, since they were completely voluntary. Local School Committees could appoint anybody as a teacher, but they usually appointed the lower bidder without any reference to his qualifications. The teachers were full of complaints about their low salaries, which were often desperately in arrears, and they often closed their schools and retired in disgust to other occupations. There was then a strongly felt need for educational legislation, in order to formalise the administrative structure of primary education, to provide for the necessary funds and to fix the qualifications of teachers, the manner of their appointment and the

regular payment of their salaries.[2]

The School-masters' Qualifications Law of 1892 was the first attempt to regularise the qualifications of primary school teachers, but more formal and comprehensive arrangements came into being through the Education Law of 1895. Primary school teachers were required by that law to be graduates of a recognised Normal School or holders of a certificate from a Board of Examiners appointed by the High Commissioner. Teachers continued to be appointed by local School Committees at a salary agreed between each individual teacher and a Committee. Local contributions to the expenses of a school became mandatory, and they were apportioned by the local School Committees as "school fees" according to the means of each inhabitant of the community concerned. School fees were collected by the Government which paid each teacher his salary, as agreed between himself and his local School Committee, plus the grant apportioned to him by the Inspector of Schools. A more radical change came with the enactment of the Education (Greek-Christian) Law of 1923, under which teachers salaries were paid from Government funds derived partly from property taxes and partly from the general indirect taxes. The appointment and transfer of teachers became the province of the Board of Education, subject to the final approval of the High Commissioner. Teachers' salaries improved and they were paid according to fixed pay scales decided by the Board of Education. The really radical change came through the enactment of the Education Law of 1929 by which the Board of Education was stripped of most of its powers, and the Government took over responsibility for the appointment, transfer, promotion and discipline of primary school teachers. After the 1931 revolt the Government enacted the Education Law of 1933 by which the Governor became the central authority in all matters relating to primary

schools. Later the Government withdrew its recognition of the Normal Schools and in 1937 established its own Teachers' Training College as a post-secondary institution.[3]

All the above legislative and administrative measures had a profound effect on the professional status of primary school teachers, and thereby on their recruitment and on their selection. Thus, during the period 1878 to 1895 when there was no legislation regulating the teaching profession anybody could become a teacher as long as he was able to convince a local School Committee that he was fit to be a teacher. Teachers' salaries were very low and their payment was erratic and uncertain. Hence the professional status of teachers was low and their recruitment and selection was uncontrolled. During the period 1895 to 1923 the educational legislation required that teachers should be graduates from a Normal School and made provisions for the regular payment of their salaries. But salaries continued to be low mainly because of the mutual underbidding, whereas tenure of appointment was for one year. For about 20 years after the Education Law of 1895 came into operation the supply of young teachers from the Normal Schools was scarcely adequate to meet the demand because the primary school system was steadily expanding and because the renumeration of teachers and their conditions of appointment were not such as to attract people of high calibre to the profession. After 1923 and especially after 1929 the professional status of teachers was improved, because the Government undertook the responsibility of paying them fixed and higher salaries and relieved them of their dependence first on the personal caprice of mostly incompetent local School Committees and then on the personal interests of the politicians in the Board of Education. As a result the teaching profession after 1923 became relatively attractive. In the later 1920's and in the 1930's graduates of the Normal Schools

had to wait usually five years before receiving an appointment.

Of course another way of raising the quality of the new entrants to the teaching profession, as well as raising the professional status of teaching so as to make it attractive, is to select the potential teachers. The three Normal Schools of Cyprus did not make any selection of their student teachers. In the Pancyprian Normal School and in the Phaneromeni Normal School for Mistresses any pupil who was good enough to pass through the lower cycle of general education could enter the training classes to become a teacher. There was no restriction in numbers and no selection whatsoever. In the Pancyprian Theological and Teachers' Training Seminary the situation was even worse. Pupils were accepted into the Seminary at the age of 12 not so much according to their ability but rather according to their place of origin, because the Church wanted to staff all villages with educated priests who could also be schoolmasters. As long as the demand for qualified teachers exceeded the supply, as was happening before 1923, there was no point in selecting those who wanted to be trained as teachers. But after 1923 the enhanced professional status of teachers attracted so many young people to the teaching profession, that the two Normal Schools could afford some selection. In fact the Primary School Teachers' Union asked the Nicosia School Committee who controlled the Normal Schools of Nicosia and the Holy Synod who controlled the Normal School at Larnana to limit the number of teachers under training. But it appears that their requests were not taken seriously and a chance to raise the quality of the recruits was missed at that time.[4]

The Colonial Government solved the problems of attracting good quality candidates to the teaching profession and the problem of their proper selection in a satisfactory way, by doing what was

objectively useful and politically beneficial to the Administration. It took over control of both primary school teachers and their professional training, raised their professional status, and introduced proper selection procedures. Salaries were raised on six occasions in 15 years during the period 1942 to 1956, and a pension scheme was introduced in 1944. In addition student teachers were offered free tuition, board and lodgings, and on graduation they were almost sure of appointment because the numbers recruited were decided according to the projected needs of the primary schools. These measures attracted many applicants to teaching so that after World War II there were at least four applicants for each available vacancy at the Teachers' Training Colleges. Admission to the Government Training Colleges was by selection from those who had completed secondary school, passed the College Entrance Examinations (later the appropriate subjects of the Cyprus Certificate of Education Examinations) and succeeded in an interview. In those ways good quality applicants were attracted to the teaching profession and a proper selection was carried out.[5]

As to the socioeconomic background of primary school teachers during the colonial times there is little available information. Probably, since education was spreading from the towns to the rural areas, most of the primary schools teachers came from the towns. After World War II, when secondary education expanded quickly to the rural areas the proportion of teachers coming from these areas must have increased. Surridge, the Commissioner of Larnaca, who conducted an island-wide official survey of rural life in Cyprus in 1927 and 1928, reported that most schoolmasters were "town-bred" men, who longed for the anemities of the town and did not appear to enter wholeheartedly into village life. The majority of them, according to Surridge, did not take the trouble to acquaint themselves with

Agriculture, but some of them were "keen secretaries" of the Village Co-operative Credit Societies and occasionally they were found "meddling in village politics".[6] Similarly Oakden, the Financial Commissioner who studied the financial and economic resources of Cyprus in 1934, reported that primary school teachers were "drawn almost entirely from the towns" and that their knowledge and interest in Agriculture was very limited. As a result the subject of Agriculture, although officially included in the curriculum of primary schools, was usually neglected. He suggested that the proposed Government Teachers' Training College be established away from Nicosia, in rural surroundings at Morphou, and that student teachers should receive a specified amount of agricultural training during their two-year pre-service course.[7]

Secondary education was very slow to expand. Most secondary schools were established in the years between the two world wars, but the real expansion in pupil numbers came after World War II. Up to the 1930's secondary education was not a priority for the Government, but after the 1931 October revolt it realised its importance in the nationalist movement and tried to control it. In that effort the Government was only partially successful, and did not in any appreciable way influence the recruitment or selection of secondary school teachers. Another reason for the slow expansion of secondary education, besides the low priority accorded to it by the Government at least up to the 1930's, was the shortage of Greek Cypriots with a university degree. The shortage of Cypriot secondary school teachers continued throughout the colonial times. Local School Committies "imported" university qualified staff from Greece, whereas proprietors of private secondary schools employed mostly non-graduates and even secondary school graduates obviously at lower salaries. Since the

demand for secondary school teachers was larger than the supply the issue of their selection did not arise. More than half of them were not properly qualified with university degrees, and the majority of them did not have any recognised professional training.[8]

6.2 The Content and Organisation of the Pre-service Training of Teachers

The pre-service training of primary school teachers during the colonial times was divided into two periods, the period of the Normal Schools, from 1893 to 1935, and the period of the Teachers' Training Colleges, from 1935 to 1959. The Normal Schools were significantly different from the Teachers' Training Colleges, but there were differences even among institutions of the same type.

The organisation and duration of the course of the Pancyprian Normal School (1893-1935) were modified several times in order to give more prominence to the subject of "Paedagogics". During its first three years of existence (1893 to 1896) the course was a two-year one, concurrent with the upper two classes of the classical section of the Pancyprian Gymnasium of which it was a part. The same subjects as in the classical section were taught in the training section, plus the subject of "Paedagogics". From 1896 onwards the Pancyprian Normal School offered a course which was longer by one year compared to the classical section, and ran in part concurrently with the upper class(es) of that section. From 1896 to 1915 the course lasted two years, from 1915 to 1931 three years and from 1931 to 1935 five years. The extension of the duration of the course was achieved by starting earlier. These changes were in line with those effected in the Normal Schools of Greece.[9] In the Phaneromeni Normal School for Mistresses (1903 to 1937) there was no classical section. During the

period 1903 to 1915 the training course lasted three years, and was based on only two years of lower secondary general education. In 1915 the prerequisite years of general education were increased to three. In 1931 the studies at the Phaneromeni Normal School for Mistresses were completely re-organised, so that the training course comprised five years preceded by two years of lower secondary general education, just as was done in the Pancyprian Normal School. Both Normal Schools were under the management of the Nicosia School Committee. In the Pancyprian Theological and Teachers' Training Seminary (1917 to 1932) there was only one section preparing both priests and schoolmasters, and the institution was under the management of the Holy Synod of the Cyprus Church. The first three classes of the Seminary provided lower secondary education and the last three classes were the training classes proper. In all three Normal Schools, entrance to the training classes was by simple promotion from the lower section of the institution, and graduates were classified into three classes, according to their academic attainment.[10]

The content of the course at the Pancyprian Normal School was differentiated during the concurrent years from that of the classical section of the Gymnasium by dropping some subjects of the classical curriculum, devoting more time to "technical subjects" and introducing the subject of "Paedagogics". During the last year of the course, i.e. the year which made the course longer than the classical one, the time devoted to subjects of general education, such as Language, Maths and History, was further reduced and more emphasis was placed on "technical subjects", such as Handicrafts, Physical Education and Music, and above all on the subject of "Paedagogics". When the course was a two-year one, the subject of "Paedagogics" occupied three periods per week in the first year and ten periods in the second, out

of a total of 41 in each year. In the first year the subject of "Paedagogics" was mainly theoretical and included Theory of Education and Methods of Teaching the subjects of the primary school curriculum. In the second year, four weekly periods of the subject of "Paedagogics" were devoted to theoretical work in the Theory and History of Education and the other six weekly periods to "Teaching Exercises and Paedagogical Conferences". These exercises were lessons taught by student teachers in the primary schools of the town of Nicosia, in the presence of their fellow students and of their professor of Paedagogy with a view to subsequent discussion under his guidance. When the course was extended downwards, to become first a three-year and then a five-year one, more time was devoted to the subject of "Paedagogics", but the general framework remained the same, i.e. theoretical instruction in the principles of Education and observation of demonstration lessons followed by a discussion. A similar general structure was in existence in the training courses of the Phaneromeni Normal School for Mistresses and the Pancprian Theological and Teachers' Training Seminary.[11]

The best available evidence as to the effectiveness of the courses offered by the two Nicosia Normal Schools is the Talbot and Cape Report (1913). According to these two experts a good deal of specific instruction was given in the principles of teaching but this instruction was in both Normal Schools mainly theoretical, with comparatively little opportunity for practice in the art of teaching. Individual teachers had told the experts that they had themselves given only one, or at most two, demonstration lessons (called teaching exercises) in the whole of their training course. This contention has been confirmed to the author by Mrs. Antigoni Michaelidou, first Principal of the Mistresses Training Centre and later Assistant

Principal of the Paedagogical Academy, who was herself trained at the Phaneromeni Normal School for Mistresses. The experts suggested that a much needed reform was that each student should have the opportunity for continuous practice in primary schools over an extended period. The experts also noted that the programme of studies at the Phaneromeni Normal School for Mistresses ranged over a wide variety of subjects and was an unsatisfactory compromise between the requirements of an upper secondary school and those of a mistresses' training institution. This contention has been also confirmed to the author by Mrs. Michaelidou, who stated that the course was overloaded with too many subjects. It is most probable that the same situation obtained at the Pancyprian Theological and Teachers' Training Seminary which came into existence in 1917. Its course was an upper secondary course, a course preparing priests, and a course preparing teachers. The instruction in theological subjects in the last three years, which were the training years proper, amounted to 23 per cent, whereas in the paedagogical subjects amounted to 20 per cent. Training was mainly theoretical and did not include extended teaching practice in schools. The course must have been an unsatisfactory compromise between the requirements of an upper secondary school, a theological seminary, and a teachers' training institution.[12]

In addition to these structural defects of the courses at the Normal Schools the two experts also pointed to another methodological problem which permeated the whole of the educational system. The syllabus of the elementary schools in the period 1898 to 1935 was too advanced and beyond the capacities of the children. They suggested that the curriculum of the schools should place more emphasis on subjects inherently practical such as Woodwork and Gardening, and that some kind of in-service training of teachers was necessary before

this change could be introduced. But the real defect, they pointed out, was essentially one of method of presentation and of the proper use of the available text-books, which were often too difficult for the children, both in wording and in content. The teachers used to rely slavishly on school text-books and this tendency could be traced to the bookish character of their own professional training. The experts suggested that the character of teaching in schools should become more practical and more life-relevant and that learning should be achieved by doing rather than by reading infallible text-books. But their most far-reaching suggestion was that the training of primary school teachers should be removed from the domain of secondary education and provided in post-secondary institutions specifically designed for that purpose. This suggestion was implemented in 1937, not so much for educational reasons but rather for reasons pertaining to the administrative and political control over teachers.[13]

The Teachers' Training College at Morphou (1937-1959) had all the prerequisites required to introduce the suggested reforms. The students were properly selected, the staff properly trained for the job, and the course was a two-year post-secondary one. The staff had been specially trained in the United Kingdom, and even the headmasters and the rest of the staff of the "model schools" which were used for demonstration purposes were trained in England in the "modern methods" of teaching. The curriculum of the Teachers' Training College was made up of four components: (a) further education in the subjects of the primary school curriculum, which the teachers had to teach; (b) training in "practical subjects", to enrich the primary school curriculum, such as Music, Physical Education, Art and Handicraft, and Gardening and Agriculture; (c) paedagogical training in the Principles of Education, Child Psychology and Teaching Methods; and (d)

observation of demonstration lessons and extended teaching practice by students in schools. Demonstration lessons were usually carried out in "model schools", which were used as centres for the diffusion of "modern methods" of teaching. Teaching practice was carried out on a block basis; the College was closed for a fortnight each term and the students were distributed among conveniently spaced primary schools, of all types and sizes, where they taught under the supervision of the College staff. The curriculum of the Mistresses Training Centre in Nicosia was similar to that of the College at Morphou, but the time devoted to teaching practice must have been excessive - approximately half of the total time. Another difference was that the language of instruction in the Centre was Greek, whereas at the College it was English.[14]

Secondary school teachers were not required, during colonial times, to have any recognised paedagogical preparation. Some of them had attended some lectures in Phychology during their university studies. Secondary school teachers were subject specialists and educated usually in a university, as opposed to primary school teachers who were generalists and trained in a teacher training institution. Hence during the colonial times there was a clear dichotomy between primary and secondary school teachers in their academic and paedagogical preparation.

6.3 The Problems of Induction of Young Teachers

Induction of young teachers was not considered a priority problem during colonial times, although it probably existed. In the interview given to the author by Dr. Sleight, first Principal of the Teachers' Training College and later Director of Education in Cyprus,

he stressed that the effect of the supervisory role of the inspectorate was minimal in that a school did not become a better place because it was inspected. More useful was the advisory role of the "organising teachers" who demonstrated the new methods of teaching and helped the teachers on the spot. They usually stayed at a school for one or two weeks and assisted the young supernumerary teachers who served one year in schools before being admitted to the College.[15] One of the many problems of induction of the young teachers is the pace at which they must cover the syllabus; in their enthusiasm they often cover it too quickly. As stated by Mrs. Michaelidou, first Principal of the Teachers' Training Centre, in the interview given to the author, her studies at the Phaneromeni Normal School for Mistresses did not include an analysis of the syllabus of the primary school, so that difficulties for the young teachers arose in that respect too. Hence, during the colonial times there was a problem of induction of young teachers but it was not considered a priority.[16]

6.4 The Content and Organisation of the In-Service Training of Teachers

As early as 1892 it was realised that if a change was to be implemented in the schools, in-service training of teachers ought to be a mass operation. The Schoolmasters' Qualifications Law of 1892 required all teachers to attend for at least one month a course of lessons given according to the "new method" of teaching in one of the elementary schools of the island. Up to that time the method used in the elementary schools was the "monitorial method", whereby the teacher used monitors to assist him in the teaching of lower classes. The "new method" was very much like the "object lesson", and pupils were required to think for themselves about the subject under consideration.

Spencer, the first Inspector of Schools, arranged that the five schoolmasters who had been trained in the "new method" of teaching at the Teachers' Training College of Athens, should instruct their colleagues on matters of methodology during the month of September 1892. Many teachers attended that one-month course, and were in that way certificated. As a follow-up, some of the five specially qualified teachers were appointed as "travelling teachers" to assist their colleagues in the application of the "new method" of teaching in their own schools. These arrangements were repeated in the following two years.[17]

However, in the decades that followed no in-service training was provided on an organised basis. It was on the occasion of another radical change, the introduction of the "modern methods" of teaching and of the new primary school curriculum of 1949, that in-service training became a mass operation. These "modern methods" were taught at the Government Training Colleges and their philosophical basis was that the content of instruction must be life-relevant and imparted not solely through the medium of books but also through the use of audio-visual aids and by encouraging pupils to see and do things themselves. In-service training of teachers in these methods took the form mainly of summer courses of one or two weeks' duration. Each course comprised lectures, tutorials, discussion groups, demonstration lessons and the production of audio-visual aids and other teaching materials. Both the content of the new curriculum and the best methods of teaching it were dealt with in these summer courses. The lecturers of these courses were the inspectorate, the organising teachers, the teaching staff of the Training Colleges, the headmasters of the model schools and specialist lecturers from overseas. Three characteristics of this operation are noteworthy: In-service training was massive, continuous

and voluntary. In a few years the "modern methods" became part and parcel of the work of the teachers. In addition, for selected teachers and other staff of the Department of Education and of the Training Colleges scholarships were provided in the United Kingdom for further training.[18]

No provisions were made by the Government during colonial times for the in-service training of secondary school teachers, except for the teachers of English. Secondary school teachers were not under the control of the Government, except those few working in Government schools. In that way the dichotomy between primary and secondary school teachers extended to their in-service training also.

6.5 The Professional Status of Teachers as a Function of their Pre-Service and In-Service Training

The professional status of teachers in Cyprus was closely related to the development of teaching as a profession, and in this thesis it is used as an umbrella term to denote such items as tenure, salaries, promotion prospects and social prestige and generally those aspects of the profession which have the connotation of the teacher as a worker who has to earn a living. The question here is whether the pre-service or in-service training of teachers had any influence on tenure, salaries, promotion and related aspects of their status during colonial times.

During the whole period of the Normal Schools (1893 to 1935) the graduates of these institutions were divided into three "classes", according to their academic attainment in their studies. But up to 1923 this classification had little relevance to teachers' salaries, because these were fixed after a bargain between each teacher and an employing School Committee. In 1923, when teachers' salaries were paid

by the Government, teachers were placed on three graduated salary scales according to their years of service and the class of their certificate.[19] In 1913, Talbot and Cape, the two educational experts who reported on the educational system of Cyprus, proposed that all newly qualified teachers be placed on the same entry scale, but holders of a "second" and "first" class diploma would be placed one and two incremental steps respectively higher than holders of a "third" class diploma.[20] In the 1920's and 1930's there was an oversupply of primary school teachers, and in appointing new teachers priority was given to those who had a teachers' diploma of the "first" class.[21]

Similarly the teachers of Government secondary schools and of the "public-aided" secondary schools were classified into three "grades", according to their academic qualifications. Teachers "grade B" having a university degree only, earned more than teachers "grade C" having a teacher training diploma only; and teachers "grade A", having both a university degree and a teacher training diploma, earned a still higher salary.[22] A similar classification was made by the Greek Educational Council of the Cyprus Church for the teachers of the secondary schools under their control.[23] Both primary and secondary school teachers enjoyed high social prestige throughout colonial times, an indication of the esteem accorded by the Greek Cypriots to educated people. But again secondary school teachers were at an advantage because of their qualifications. A well-qualified secondary school teacher earned more than a primary school teacher, even during the last 30 years of the British Administration when primary school teachers were Government employees.[24]

In summary, the professional status of teachers during colonial times depended to a certain degree on the level and quality of their academic qualifications and pre-service training. In-service

training was not linked to grade and promotion prospects, at least directly.

6.6 Main Factors in the Formulations of Policies for the Education and Professional Development of Teachers During the British Administration

Throughout the colonial times the formulation of educational policies for the education and professional development of teachers was determined primarily by the following factors:

(a) Political considerations,

(b) educational philosophies and practices,

(c) economic considerations, and

(d) teachers demands

The Greek Cypriots considered themselves to be Greeks and aspired to "enosis", i.e. union with Greece. "Enosis" movements emerged in other parts of the Greek world after the formation of the Greek state in 1828, such as Thessally, Macedonia, Crete and the Ionian Islands. The most relevant of these "enosis" movements was that of the Ionian Islands which were in British hands and were donated to the Kingdom of Greece in 1863, 15 years before the administration of Cyprus passed from Turkey to Great Britain. In October 1914, soon after the outbreak of the war between Great Britain and Turkey, Cyprus was annexed to the British Crown. Until that time successive British Governments argued that they had no right to discuss the Greek Cypriot demand for "enosis" because they were bound by the 1878 Treaty of Defensive Alliance with Turkey to which Cyprus belonged legally. In October 1915 the British Government formally offered Cyprus to Greece, on condition that the latter would enter the war on their side. The Greek Government was not prepared to take sides and declined the offer;

the offer therefore lapsed and was never repeated. The war highlighted the strategic importance of Cyprus, and the British decided thereafter to keep the island and turn it into a loyal part of the British Empire.[25]

It was natural that the national aspirations of the Greek Cypriots would lead to a political conflict between the British rulers of the island and their Greek Cypriot subjects. This political conflict was soon transformed into an educational conflict. The rudimentary educational system that existed in the island at the time of the British Occupation (1878) was under the control of the Cyprus Church, and they stubbornly guarded such control over education. The Greek Cypriot nationalist leaders, headed by the Church, realised from the very beginning the political significance of controlling the teachers, the schools and the curriculum. They could use them to spread and strengthen their unionist ideology, to reinforce ethnic identity and to lay the foundations for the political mobilisation of the people. Under these circumstances the political aim, almost duty, of the Colonial Government was to promote loyalty towards the British Empire, and they also realised the importance of controlling the schools, the teachers and the curriculum.

However, the intensity of promotion of that political aim by the British changed profoundly during colonial times. For the first 40 years of British rule (roughly from 1878 to 1920) all British policies on Cyprus were laissez-faire policies. The very way in which the British acquired the island from the Turks (to occupy and administer it) did not encourage any long term planning. The local colonial administrators, who were more alive to the dangers of the spread of nationalism by the schools, often advocated intervention and Government control, but they were usually overruled by the British Government, who

did not want to excite the Cypriots, whose nationalist movement was originally peaceful. After World War I Cyprus was annexed to the British Crown and that marked a gradual change of attitude on the part of the British. At the same time the nationalist movement became more active and as from the 1920's it was threatening British supremacy in the island; in 1931 it culminated in unsuccessful revolt. As from 1920 the British Government progressively abondoned its laissez-faire policy in educational matters and replaced it by a policy of state intervention and state control. By 1933 control was complete in primary education and as from 1935 some control was gradually attempted over secondary education. In 1937 the training of primary school teachers was also taken over by the Government.

The educational conflict between the British and the Greek Cypriots was as to who should control education and as to what its aims and orientations should be. Both groups of educational policy-makers formulated the details of their educational policies so as to inculcate in the young ideals which would serve their own political interests. For the Greek Cypriot policy-makers the political aim was to spread and strengthen Greek ethnic conciousness that would aspire to "enosis" with Greece. In this they did not initiate basic educational policies but merely copied those on Greece. They modelled the primary and secondary schools under their control on those in Greece and introduced in them the same Greek text-books. They supported everything Greek, as long as it promoted their control over schools and teachers, and rejected everything foreign. They advocated and applied a Greek-oriented curriculum in their schools and placed great emphasis on the teaching of ancient and modern Greek language and literature, Greek history and Greek culture and customs. The architects of this policy were the Church leaders, the Greek Elected Members of the Legislative Council

and the Educational Council of the Ethnarchy. For the British policy-makers the political aim was, especially after the 1931 revolt, to create among the young a Cypriot conciousness that would be loyal to the British Empire. Such conciousness was to be Cyprus-centred, but nurtured in English language and English culture. Thus in 1935 the curriculum of the primary schools, which by that time came under total Government control, was completely revised to become Cyprus-centred; Greek History and Greek Geography were abolished as separate subjects, and English became a compulsory subject in the last two forms. As from 1935 extensive teaching of English as a subject in Greek secondary schools became a precondition for a Government grant. In the Government secondary schools (the English School, the Agricultural and the Technical Schools) and in the Teachers' Training College the medium of instruction was English and the curricula copied English prototypes. Hence the educational policies of both the Greek and the British policy-makers were influenced primarily by political considerations.

Another factor in the formulation of educational policies was the educational philosophies and practices prevailing in the country to which the policy-makers were looking for examples. But those philosophies and practices were subordinate to the political factor, and they were selected and applied only if they served the political aims of the policy-makers. In most cases they represented educational dichotomies, such as centralisation versus decentratlisation, liberal versus vocational education, theory versus practice, tradition versus efficiency and so on.

The first prerequisite for implementing any educational policy is control over schools and teachers. Government control meant central control, and thereby arose the educational dichotomy of centralisation versus decentralisation. At the time of the British

Occupation (1878) the administration of the rudimentary educational system of Cyprus was decentralised. Control over schools and teachers was in the hands of local School Committees who hired and fired the teachers, collected the voluntary contributions to the upkeep of the schools and generally managed the schools as they thought fit. The British retained this decentralised system of school administration and tried to stimulate it with small grants to worthy schools, and later to make it more efficient by making local "school fees" mandatory. The training of teachers was also left in the hands of the Normal Schools which were controlled by the Nicosia School Committee, or the Holy Synod, and grants were also made to them to encourage their efforts. Such a policy was in line with the existing educational practice in England, where as long ago as 1862 the Revised Code of Regulations was supplementing local efforts in education by payment of Government grants according to the results achieved in each school, and as from 1870 the Education Act of that year empowered the School Boards to establish public elementary schools maintained primarily out of local rates.[26]

In the first forty years or so of the twentieth century the British educational system was made slightly more centralised, but it was nothing like the complete centralisation implemented in Cyprus during the same period. The control over primary school teachers passed in 1923 from the local School Committees to the Board of Education and in 1929 to the Government. In 1933 the Governor became the "central authority" in all matters relating to elementary education, and in 1937 the Normal Schools were replaced by Government Teachers' Training Colleges. Some control over secondary schools and teachers was imposed as from 1935 and total control over them was attempted in 1952. The change was dramatic, but it was not modelled as in the early years of

British Rule, on the educational philosophies and practices of educational administration prevailing in England; it was rather a response to threatened colonial interests.

The Greek Cypriots policy-makers were against centralisation not because it was not a national practice in Greece but because the wrong Government was doing it. In Greece the Government had total control over schools and teachers and prescribed every detail of the curriculum, down to the school text-books, which were sent to the Greek Cypriot schools free of charge. After independence Spyridakis not only maintained the centralised structure of primary education that the British had established, but extended it to secondary education, despite his previous antagonism to it. In fact the dichotomy of centralisation versus decentralisation was not about central control versus local control, but about British control versus Greek Cypriot control. Nevertheless, it was an important factor in shaping the policies about teachers and their education and in the end determined their professional status, and the content and organisation of their pre-service and in-service training.

The dichotomy of liberal versus utilitarian education was directly concerned with the content of the curriculum and the training of teachers who were to implement it. Greek Cypriot policy-makers stressed that education should be an intellectual activity aiming at the exercise of reason. That aim, they claimed, was best served by "liberal education" provided in their Greek secondary schools. Other labels used to convey the same intention were "academic education", "general education" and "humanistic education". The Greek secondary schools were, however, more commonly known as "classical gymnasia" and their curriculum included a high proportion of literary subjects, especially Ancient Greek Literature. They nourished the young in their

glorious ancient Greek legacy and made them feel proud of their ancestors. In that way they strengthened the national identity of the young and served the political aims of the Greek Cypriot policy-makers. The British actively supported utilitarian education such as agricultural and technical education. Such education, they claimed, was demonstrably useful for Cyprus and beneficial for its industrial development. But behind these arguments there were again political considerations. Utilitarian education, as opposed to classical education, was politically neutral and therefore safe for their colonial interests. Greek Cypriot policy-makers were not against agricultural or technical education but they did not promote it with any enthusiasm. The curriculum of the Normal Schools included agricultural and technical subjects but no special importance was attached to them, and Talbot and Cape suggested that the teaching of such subjects should be strengthened both in the Normal Schools and in the primary schools. The Government Teachers' Training College placed special emphasis on "practical subjects" and on Agriculture and Gardening.

Another dichotomy in teacher training was the relative emphasis on theory and practice. It was observed by Talbot and Cape that the training of teachers offered in the two Normal Schools of Nicosia was deficient in teaching practice. While this deficiency was probably due to the fact that the Greek models copied in Cyprus were themselves deficient in that respect, it was also due to the prevailing epistemology in Greece, whereby training in theory was considered more important than practical training which, the argument continued, would come afterwards. Similarly the British models proposed by Talbot and Cape underlined the British empiricist approach, whereby practice was more important than theory. This dichotomy applied to teaching methods

as well. As rightly observed by the experts, the methods used in schools were "bookish" and they suggested the introduction of practical subjects and bringing the instruction of academic subjects into direct relationship with the children's daily experiences. Later, when "modern methods" based on these suggestions were introduced into the training of primary school teachers, Spyridakis complained that they were "English methods".

The dichotomy of tradition and efficiency also influenced educational policies. The Church leaders argued that it was the traditional practice for people to elect their local School Committees, and that this practice enhanced the interest of a community in the education of their children. The colonial policy-makers pointed out the inefficiency of existing arrangements and thus justified their intervention and control over schools and teachers. Government control was presented as more efficient because it avoided the intrigues of local politics and local prejudices. It must be noted, however, that both arguments were in line with the political motives of the respective policy-makers. It is therefore difficult to know whether a change was motivated by reasons of effiency put forward by the colonial officials, or opposed for educational or social reasons advocated by the Greek Cypriot leaders.

Economic considerations also played an important part in educational policies during colonial times. The non-interventionist policy initiated by Kimberley in 1881 was based on economic considerations as well. He laid down that the educational policy of the British Government should not involve at that time a substantial expense, but only small grants-in-aid to stimulate local initiative. In 1913, when the Greek Elected Members demanded higher contributions from the Government budget towards the cost of running the schools, the

London Government argued that any increase in state spending should mean more state control over primary schools and teachers. In 1923 the Greek Cypriots realised that they were subsidising the Turkish Cypriot primary schools, because the Turkish Elected Members of the Legislative Council had already accepted Government control over their teachers in return for payment of their salaries from central revenue to which the Greek Cypriots contributed, but did not derive any benefit for their schools. That situation provided a strong economic pressure on the Greek Cypriots to accept Government control over primary school teachers.

The demands of teachers for better salaries, pensions, tenure and professional independence influenced both the Greek Cypriot and British policy-makers. Both of them realised the value of controlling the teachers, but the British were more alive to the importance of keeping them also content and therefore willingly raised their salaries. In general the issues of control over teachers, economic considerations and teachers' demands were closely interrelated and influenced policies on the education and professional development of teachers considerably during colonial times.

Some factors which influenced educational thinking during colonial times disappeared after independence, while others continued to exist in other forms. Others became stronger and more influential, while some problems which were not apparent then are important to-day. The study of the historical evolution of the system of education and professional development of teachers in Cyprus is essential in understanding the present situation and in deciding future policies.

PART TWO

CONSOLIDATION AND REFORM OF THE EDUCATION AND PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF TEACHERS IN CYPRUS (1960-1985)

CHAPTER 7

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN INDEPENDENT CYPRUS

After independence the education and the professional status of teachers continued to be influenced by political considerations. To put the subject into this context, this chapter reviews the political developments in independent Cyprus.

7.1 The Period 1960 to 1974

Cyprus became independent on 16th August 1960, following the Zurich and London Agreements. These Agreements were essentially a settlement imposed by the British, Greek, and Turkish governments on the Cypriots, and this fact must be borne in mind in considering the political and constitutional breakdown that came three years later. The settlement was concluded at two levels: the external, which was demarcated by the Treaty of Establishment, the Treaty of Alliance and the Treaty of Guarantee, and the internal level, which was fixed by the 1960 Constitution.[1*]

The Treaty of Establishment provided that the territory of the Republic of Cyprus should comprise the island of Cyprus, with the exception of two military base areas which should remain under the sovereignty of the United Kingdom. The Treaty of Alliance was concluded between Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey with the expressed aim of resisting any attack on the independence or territorial integrity of Cyprus. It was further provided, for this purpose, that Tripartite

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Notes and references to this chapter start on page 883.

Headquarters would be established and military contingents would be stationed in Cyprus, made up of 950 Greek and 650 Turkish officers and men respectively. Finally, under the Treaty of Guarantee, Great Britain, Greece, and Turkey guaranteed the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, and reserved for themselves the right to take steps for the restoration of the status quo created by the Agreements in case of a breach of their provisions.[2]

The Cyprus Constitution was made sharply bicommunal in character, and the Turkish minority of 18 per cent of the population was granted excessive privileges. Both partition, to which the Turkish minority was aspiring before the settlement, and union with Greece, to which the Greek majority of 82 per cent was aspiring long ago, were expressly prohibited by the 1960 Constitution. Under this Constitution the executive powers of the Republic were to be exercised by a Greek President and a Turkish Vice-president each elected by his own community, and a Council of Ministers consisting of seven Greek Cypriots, to be designated by the Greek President, and three Turkish Cypriots, to be designated by the Turkish Vice-president. Under this system, the President and the Vice-president were to have the power of veto, exercisable either separately or conjointly on any decisions of the Council of Ministers concerning foreign affairs, defence or security and on any decision of the House of Representatives. The legislative powers of the Republic were to be exercised by the House of Representatives in all matters except those expressly reserved to the two Communal Chambers. The House of Representatives was to be made up of 35 Greek Cypriot and 15 Turkish Cypriot deputies, elected through separate electoral rolls. Any law or decision of the House of Representatives was to be passed by a simple majority vote, but any modification of the electoral law, any law relating to municipalities

and any law imposing duties or taxes was to require separate simple majorities of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot deputies taking part in the voting.

In addition the Constitution provided for two Communal Chambers, each to be elected separately by its own community and to have exclusive legislative competence on religious, educational, cultural and generally communal matters. Education and culture were, therefore, viewed in the Constitution as strictly communal concerns. Education in particular was conceived in a very narrow sense, simply as the transmission of communal values.

The judicial powers in the Republic were to be exercised by the Supreme Constitutional Court, the High Court and its subordinate Courts. Inter-Greek or inter-Turkish disputes were to be tried by a judge of the same community and Greek-Turkish cases by a mixed court. The High Court of Justice and the Supreme Constitutional Court were each to have a neutral foreign president and a Greek Cypriot and a Turkish Cypriot judge. For the Public Service and the Security Forces, the Constitution provided that they should be composed of Greek and Turkish Cypriots according to the ratio of 70:30; in the Armed Forces of the Republic the ratio was to be 60:40. In charge of appointments, promotions, transfers and disciplinary control of the Public Service there was to be a Public Service Commission, itself chosen by the President and the Vice-president of the Republic on a 70:30 basis. The decisions of the Public Service Commission had to be taken by a simple majority vote, but that majority had to include a certain minimum number of Greek or Turkish votes, depending on whether the decision was to be related to a Greek Cypriot or a Turkish Cypriot. Finally, the Constitution provided for separate Greek and Turkish municipalities to be set up in the five main towns of Cyprus.[3]

In this way the communal participation in the instruments of government was based on fixed ratios, giving the Turkish minority not only equality but powers of veto; most of the major affairs of the state were in effect subject to the agreement of the representatives of the two communities. Serious problems concerning the interpretation and application of the Constitution appeared from the very beginning, reflecting the sharply bicommunal nature of the Constitution and the mistrust between the two communities. The first issue to cause genuine difficulties was the implementation of the 70:30 ratio in the Public Service. The Greek Cypriots considered this provision as being clearly discriminatory and as causing loss of jobs to their community, which they considered better educated than the Turkish Cypriot community. The Turkish Cypriot leadership complained that positions in the Public Service were not being filled according to the constitutionally prescribed ratio. In retaliation the Turkish Cypriot members of the House of Representatives refused to vote for the budget, with the result that in the first three years of independence nobody paid any income tax. Serious friction also arose over the geographical separation of the municipalities and over the formation of a Cypriot Army. Constitutional disputes were taken to the Supreme Constitutional Court, but its decisions did not prove effective in solving the problems referred to it. By 1963 essential governmental functions came to a virtual standstill, partly because of mutual suspicion and absence of good-will, which led the two communities to adopt rigid and uncompromising positions, and partly because of the complexity of the constitutional arrangements, which themselves proved very fertile sources of dispute.[4]

On 30th November, 1963, some three years after the Constitution came into force, President Makarios made certain

proposals, which later came to be known as "the Makarios' 13-point proposals", for the revision of those provisions of the Constitution which impeded the "smooth functioning and the development of the state".[5] Shortly after the circulation of the proposed amendments, the Government of Turkey announced that they were unacceptable to them, and Vice-president Kutchuk followed suit, accusing Makarios of ulterior intentions. Nevertheless, whatever possibility might have existed at that time for rational discussion disappeared with the outbreak of violent disturbances between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in late December 1963. Early in January 1964 the Turkish Cypriots, from the Vice-president downwards, withdrew from their positions in the Government. Fortifications and barricades went up in the cities, and normality never really returned to the island again. Although each side accused the other of breaking the Constitution, there can be no doubt that both sides had contingency plans ready in the event of further deterioration of relations. Intercommunal violence spread quickly and arms entered the island clandestinely for the irregular bands which proliferated on both sides. The confrontation was crystallised as the Turkish Cypriots consolidated their control over a number of territorial enclaves which became no-go areas for the Greek Cypriots. Territorially these enclaves were based mainly on the Turkish quarters of the major cities or on clusters of Turkish villages in the countryside and were formed by minor population movements into those areas.[6]

After an inconclusive conference in London between all parties concerned, the Cyprus problem was taken to the United Nations. The Security Council authorised the stationing in Cyprus of a United Nations peace-keeping force and the Secretary General appointed a mediator, Dr. Plaza, to help solve the political problem of Cyprus. In

June 1964 the House of Representatives, functioning with its Greek Cypriot members only, passed a law authorising the establishment of a Greek Cypriot army, the "National Guard". Shortly afterwards General Grivas, the ex-EOKA leader, returned from Athens to assume its command. In addition, large numbers of Greek regular troops were secretly infiltrating into Cyprus in the guise of volunteers. Similar infiltrations of Turkish officers were taking place in the Turkish Cypriot enclaves but to a lesser extent. Intercommunal violence was intensified and on 1st June, 1964, the Turkish Government of Ismet Inonu decided to invade Cyprus. Thanks to President Johnson, who sent a stern letter to Inonu when he learnt of their intentions, the invasion was averted, although Turkish planes did bomb several Greek Cypriot villages.[7]

In March 1965 the United Nations mediator, Dr. Plaza, after numerous consultations with all interested parties, submitted his report to the Secretary General suggesting an independent and unitary state for Cyprus. The Plaza Report was considered by Greece and Makarios as constructive, but it was rejected by Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot leadership, and thus his mediation came to an end. Meanwhile bilateral Graeco-Turkish talks took place in a number of contexts. In the summer of 1964 the former American Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, met in Geneva with representatives of Greece and Turkey and from those meetings emerged what became known as the Acheson Plan. Under that plan, Cyprus was to have union with Greece, but a type of partitition was also envisaged in the form of an extensive sovereign Turkish base area in Cyprus. There was no Cypriot participation in those talks and, as the solution was effectively disguised partition, it was rejected by Makarios. Further Graeco-Turkish talks covering the whole range of relations between the two countries went on, culminating

in a meeting held in Thrace in September 1967 between the Prime Minister of Turkey, Suleyman Demirel, and the Prime Minister of Greece, Konstantinos Kollias, who came into office after the colonels' coup d'etat in that country on 21st April, 1967. The meeting ended in disagreement and the Graeco-Turkish dialogue collapsed.[8]

In November 1967 serious incidents of intercommunal violence broke out in the Kofinou area, on the main road connecting the capital Nicosia with the port town of Limassol. The result was to bring nearer a full-scale military confrontation between Greece and Turkey. The Turkish Government announced full mobilisation in preparation for an invasion to partition the island. Simultaneously they gave the unpopular and perhaps weak junta Government of Greece an opportunity to avoid war by sending a diplomatic note demanding, among other things, the removal from Cyprus of General Grivas and of the Greek troops that were present in Cyprus not in accordance with the Treaty of Alliance. The Greek government swiftly recalled General Grivas but did not appear willing to withdraw its armed forces from Cyprus. A flurry of diplomatic activity followed, especially by the Secretary General of the United Nations and by the United States. President Johnson dispatched his Deputy Defence Secretary, Cyrus Vance, as negotiator in the dispute. Shuttling between Ankara, Athens, and Nicosia, he managed to persuade Greece to agree to a face-saving formula for the swift evacuation of the Greek troops in excess of their statutory contingents, provided that Turkey would do the same with her much smaller excess troops. With the withdrawal of the Greek and Turkish excess troops in December 1967 the immediate crisis came to an end, but the problem remained.[9]

In this new situation, Makarios took the initiative. On 12th January, 1968, he issued a statement to the people of Cyprus

stating that the collapse of the Graeco-Turkish dialogue and the withdrawal from Cyprus of the Greek excess troops created circumstances and conditions which dictated a realistic reappraisal of the handling of the problem of Cyprus. According to Makarios a solution had to be sought "within the limits of what was feasible, which did not always coincide with what was desirable".[10] In the same statement he announced that he was going to hold new presidential elections on 25th February as a way of testing public faith in his government. The reaction of Vice-president Kutchuk to the election news was to announce that he was going to hold a Vice-presidential election on the same day. Kutchuk was returned unopposed and Makarios was re-elected as President by a majority of 96 per cent. On 7th March, 1968, Makarios withdrew all roadblocks and defensive positions around the Turkish enclaves and announced a number of normalisation measures.[11] In the same month he submitted to the United Nations Secretary General new proposals for the solution of the Cyprus problem, based on the principle of a unitary and integral state with some bicommunal participation.

The Secretary General of the United Nations suggested local talks under the aegis of his special representative in Cyprus. His suggestion was accepted, and intercommunal talks on the political problem of the island started with Glafkos Clerides , President of the House of Representatives, representing the Greek Cypriot side and Rauf Denktash, President of the Turkish Communal Chamber, representing the Turkish Cypriot side. The attitudes of both Greece and Turkey towards the intercommunal talks was encouraging, and some optimism was entertained on all sides. However, after three years of negotiations the talks broke down in disagreement. The United Nations Secretary General soon suggested to the Governments of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey reactivation of the talks in an expanded form, with the participation

of his special representative in Cyprus and with two constitutional experts, one from Greece and one from Turkey, attending in an advisory capacity. The proposal was accepted and the United Nations Secretary General, Kurt Waldheim, inaugurated the expanded round of talks himself in the summer of 1972. The intercommunal negotiations continued for another two years. According to Polyviou who, as adviser to the Greek Cypriot interlocutor, had unrivalled access to documents of the talks, "by early 1974 a comprehensive settlement with regard to the internal constitutional problem had almost been reached".[12]

In the meantime Archbishop Markarios, although combining traditional, charismatic, and legal authority, had serious problems in his own community, in his own Church, and with the Greek junta. A determined political and terrorist campaign by people professing faith in "enosis", i.e. union with Greece, and opposing Makarios' policy of independence began. An attempt to assassinate Makarios was made on 8th March, 1970. In September 1971 General Grivas returned secretly to Cyprus and organised "EOKA B", a new "enosist" and terrorist organisation. "EOKA B" enjoyed the support of many Greek officers serving with the Greek Cypriot National Guard and engaged in many acts of political violence. Connected with this agitation for "enosis" was the eruption of open conflict in the Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus. Encouraged by Grivas, the other three bishops complained that Makarios had abandoned "enosis" and settled for independence, and that he was holding the temporal office of the President contrary to Canon Law. On the latter pretext, they unfrocked the Archbishop in April 1973. They were themselves later unfrocked by a Synod of Eastern Orthodox Churches, on the grounds that they had acted contrary to the Holy Canons which do not allow the trial of a bishop by fewer than 12 of his peers. Even more significant was the sharp and public deterioration of

relations between Makarios and the Greek junta. The colonels did not approve of Makarios' non-aligned and sometimes pro-communist policies, and above all they themselves wanted to shape their policy on the Cyprus problem, which they considered a thorny issue in Graeco-Turkish relations. For these reasons they tried to weaken support for Makarios and his policies. After the death of General Grivas in January 1974, the "EOKA B" terrorist organisation came under the complete control of Colonel Ioannides, who had in the meantime replaced Colonel Papadopoulos as the strongman of the Greek junta.[13]

7.2 The Turkish Invasion of 1974 and Its Aftermath

In May 1974 the newly elected Turkish Government of Bulent Ecevit announced a fundamental change in their policy concerning Cyprus. They demanded a federal system of government instead of a unitary state with bicommunal participation, which was the agreed approach in the intercommunal talks from their very beginning in 1968. This abrupt shift in Turkish policy can be explained only as a deliberate disruption of the intercommunal talks, so that, in the event of an attempt to overthrow Makarios, Turkey would have a plausible excuse for military intervention.[14]

On 2nd July, 1974, Archbishop Makarios wrote a letter, which he made public a few days later, to the Greek junta government, accusing them of responsibility for subversive activities in Cyprus against him, and demanding that all the Greek officers serving with the Greek Cypriot National Guard would be withdrawn from the island without delay.[15] On 15th July, 1974 the Greek junta staged a coup against Makarios, using for that purpose troops and tanks under the direction of Greek military officers. The Presidential Palace was stormed, but

Archbishop Makarios managed to escape and sought temporary refuge abroad. A puppet government was installed; it established military control over the island but did not enjoy international recognition.

The coup against Makarios was a golden excuse for Turkey to invade the island, an operation which she started preparing since 1964. On the pretext of restoring the status quo, Turkey invaded Cyprus on 20th July, 1974.[16] The operation was carried out in two stages and the Turkish troops eventually occupied 40 per cent of the Cyprus territory in the North of the island. They first captured the port town of Kyrenia in the North and seized a strip of land joining Kyrenia with the Turkish quarter of the capital Nicosia. Three days after the invasion the military regime collapsed both in Greece and Cyprus. Karamanlis, an ex-premier living in Paris, was called to power in Greece, and Clerides, President of the House of Representatives, assumed the leadership of the Cyprus Government, according to the provisions of the 1960 Constitution. Although constitutional order had been restored that way, Turkish military reinforcements were continually being poured into the Turkish bridgehead and gradually expanded it.

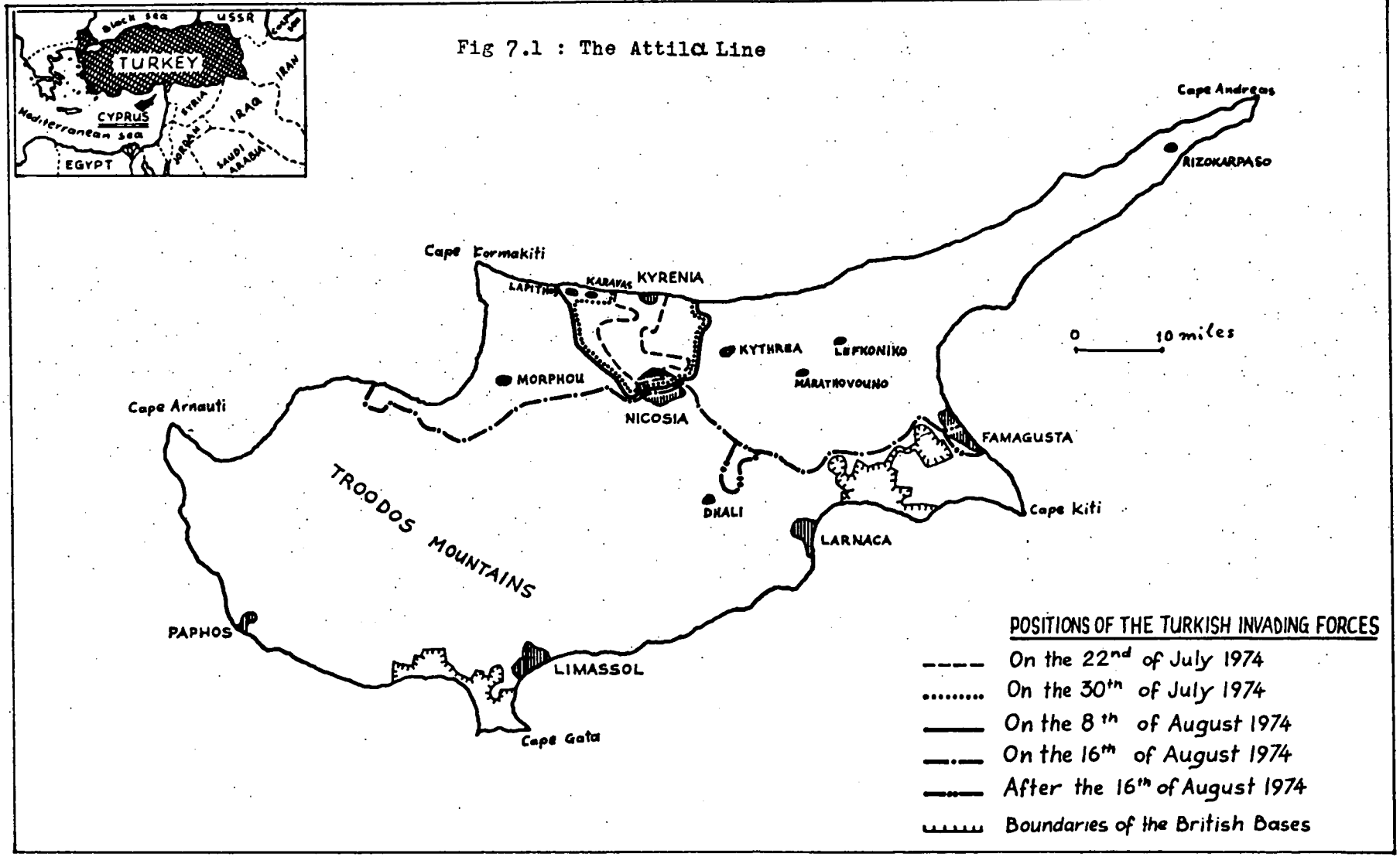
The danger of a major war between Greece and Turkey was so acute that diplomats everywhere exerted frantic efforts to avert further intensification of the conflict. On 20th and 23rd July, 1974, the Security Council adopted resolutions calling upon the three guarantor powers to "enter into negotiations without delay for the restoration of peace and constitutional government in Cyprus".[17] The foreign ministers of Turkey, Greece, and the United Kingdom and the Cypriot leaders, Clerides and Denktash, met for this purpose in Geneva between 25th and 30th July and between 8th and 13th of August 1974. These Geneva conferences failed to provide a solution to the problem

because, according to James Callaghan, the British Foreign Secretary who presided at the talks, "the Turkish delegation behaved arbitrarily and unreasonably".[18] The conferences served Turkey in giving her time to reinforce her presence on the island. On 14th August Turkey launched a second invasion, occupied 40 per cent of the island and established the so-called Attila line (see figure 7.1).

The Turkish invasion was destructive for every domain of life in Cyprus. About 200,000 people, forming nearly 40 per cent of the Greek population of the island, were driven out of the occupied area in the North and became refugees in their own country. Their homes and property have been assigned to settlers from Turkey and to Turkish Cypriots previously living in the free areas of the South who crossed the Attila line to the occupied areas. In this way the occupied areas in the North has been turned into a Turkish Cypriot region and the free areas in the South into a Greek Cypriot region. Separation was complete and partition became a defacto situation. The economic consequences of the invasion were enormous, but the most serious problem was the population upheaval. A heavy blow was given to the morale of the people who have been ruthlessly uprooted from their homes and turned into refugees. The invasion has turned the island into "shambles".[19]

Archbishop Makarios returned to Cyprus in December 1974 and assumed his duties as legitimate President. In this way constitutional order had been fully restored, but that cut little ice with the Turks. Intercommunal talks were later resumed, under the aegis of the Secretary General of the United Nations, on the basis of a federal system of government. Unfortunately the Turkish Cypriot approach to the talks was not so much a genuine federation but a loose confederation or camouflaged partition. Intercommunal talks have gone

Fig 7.1 : The Attila Line



on intermittently for the last ten years, under the auspices of the United Nations, but with no results. On 15th November, 1983, the Turkish Cypriots unilaterally proclaimed the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus". It has not been recognised by other countries, except Turkey. Since then Rauf Denktash, the Turkish Cypriot leader, declared that he is willing to talk with the Greek Cypriots about a confideration where each community would have a fifty per cent share of power. The Cyprus Government, under President Spyros Kyprianou, although not recognising the secessionist regime of Denktash, has agreed to "proximity talks" through the Secretary General of the United Nations. These talks led to a summit meeting in January 1985 between Kyprianou and Denktash, but again they failed to produce a compromise.[20]

The Cyprus problem has become a perpetual agony for the people of the island, especially for the Greek Cypriots. Cyprus is the only British colony that has not yet achieved full independence. The pressure from mainland Turkey has served to deprive the Greek Cypriots first of their aspirations for "enosis" with Greece and later of a large part of their territory and in effect of their independence. The political upheavals in independent Cyprus have influenced all walks of life, including the education and the professional status of teachers, in many ways.

CHAPTER 8

THE PAEDAGOGICAL ACADEMY OF CYPRUS

8.1 The Establishment of the Paedagogical Academy

During the period of the Government Teachers' Training Colleges there were two training colleges, one in Morphou for male students and one in Nicosia for female students. They served both communities, but the one in Morphou used English as its language of instruction, whereas the one in Nicosia used Greek for the Greek Cypriot mistresses and Turkish for the Turkish Cypriot ones.[1*] Both colleges laboured under severe accommodation problems until a new college was built in Nicosia in the late 1950's to replace them (see Figure 8.1). In January 1958 the teaching block of the new college was completed and all students and staff transfered to it.

However, the academic work of the new college was disturbed by the Greek Cypriot students who demanded that the language of instruction for them should be Greek. At one time they issued an ultimatum to the Principal threatening to leave the college if this and other demands were not satisfied. As a result, the Principal of the college suspended all of them for several days. It must be borne in mind that the years 1955-59 were the years of the Cyprus Revolution, in which many pupils and students participated in various ways. By way of "strikes" and demonstrations they often caused serious disruptions, and the Government closed many educational institutions for extended periods. In early June 1958, owing to the intercommunal disturbances

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*Notes and references to this chapter start on page 884.

Figure 8.1 A view of the building of the Teachers' Training College, Nicosia, now the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus.

in the island, all students left the college.[2] In the following September only the Greek Cypriot students returned to the college; the Turkish Cypriot students refused to do so, and a temporary training college in rented premises was set up for them in the Turkish sector of Nicosia. At the main college, disruption soon flared up. On the 30th of October, 1958, the students went on an indefinite "strike" protesting against the expulsion from the college of three colleagues after adverse police reports on them. However in January 1959 the Greek Cypriot students returned to the College.[3]

The London Agreement of February 1959 envisaged an independent Cyprus state, after a transitory period during which the details of a Constitution were to be worked out. The British Governor of Cyprus, Sir Hugh Foot, in consultation with Archbishop Makarios as representative of the Greek Cypriot people, appointed a Greek Board of Education to take over the administration of education of the Greek community for the period up to August 1960, when Cyprus was to be declared independent.[4] Similar arrangements were made for the Turkish Cypriot community. As far as the education of primary school teachers was concerned this marked the official separation of a system which provided for both communities as from 1937 for male teachers and as from 1943 for female teachers. Primary and secondary education has always been separate (except for the few Government secondary schools).

Under the chairmanship of Dr. Spyridakis, the Greek Board of Education introduced a series of measures for reorganisation and reorientation of education "on purely Greek lines".[5] During its first two meetings, in May 1959, the Board decided to reorganise the Teachers' Training College and change it into a Paedagogical Academy "modelled after the Paedagogical Academies functioning in Greece".[6] The following main changes were made:

(a) The Greek language replaced the English language as the medium of instruction in the Academy,

(b) the time allocated to the teaching of the Greek language in the Academy was increased,

(c) the library of the Academy was enriched with a large number of Greek books,

(d) the teaching of English was reduced to that of a foreign language and the subject of "Methodology of Teaching English" was abolished, since English had already been abolished by a decision of the Greek Board of Education as a subject of the primary school curriculum,

(e) the entrance examinations of the Academy placed greater emphasis on the knowledge of Modern Greek and only graduates of six-year gymnasia were entitled to take them, and

(f) the Principal and those lecturers of the Academy who were British were replaced with Greek Cypriots, who were graduates of Greek universities and possessed post-graduate qualifications from European or American universities.[7]

These changes reflect the nationalistic spirit which permeated Greek Cypriot education during the early years after independence. The objective of strengthening the nationalist identity of the students was even embodied in the Fundamental Regulation of the Statute of the Academy.[8] The teaching staff of the Academy drew up a new syllabus for their institution designed to meet the curricular requirements laid down for Paedagogical Academies by the Greek Ministry of National Education and Religion, but taking into consideration the local needs of Cyprus. On the basis of this curriculum the diploma of the Academy was recognised as equivalent to that awarded by the Paedagogical Academies of Greece.[9] On the 5th of October, 1959, after

an inauguration ceremony, at which Archbishop Makarios was present, the Teachers' Training College was officially renamed "Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus".

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the major issues that marked the development of the Paedagogical Academy, the paedagogical ethos promoted at the Academy and its prospects for future development into a university institution.

8.2 Major Issues that Marked the Development of the Paedagogical Academy.

Over the years three major issues marked the development of the Paedagogical Academy. They refer to the curriculum, the students and the staff of the Academy. In a sense they are related to each other but, for reasons of analysis, they are treated separately. They will also be examined empirically in Part Three of the thesis and discussed there in a more generalised way.

8.2.1 The Curriculum of the Paedagogical Academy

The first curriculum of the Academy kept whatever of the curriculum of the Teachers' Training Colleges was thought to be sound, but introduced several innovations. Teaching practice continued to play an important function in the new curriculum, but the time allotted to the foundation disciplines of Education was increased. The study of Ancient and Modern Greek Language and Literature became an important part of the curriculum of the Academy.[10] However, the approach to teaching in primary schools through "activity methods", which was introduced during the period of the Teachers' Training Colleges, remained. Responding to a question on this very point, put to her

during an interview she gave to the author of this thesis, Mrs. Antigoni Michaelidou, first principal of the Mistresses' Training Centre and later lecturer and assistant principal of the Academy, had this to say:

> "I lived through both of these Institutions. From the paedagogical point of view I do not think that there were essential changes. The same approach to teaching in the primary schools continued to be promoted as before. Perhaps in the Academy more emphasis was placed on the Greek language training of the students. But the syllabus of the Academy was overloaded with many subjects."[11]

The normal time-table of work at the Academy was supplemented with a series of lectures on the wider social functions of the teacher, given by senior officials of the Greek Office of Education or other external lecturers. A series of tutorials was also introduced in the new workload of the students in order to develop their ability to engage in research and to enhance their initiative in general. For the final year students there was an excursion to Greece during their last term, so that they might have the chance to visit schools and other places of interest and attend a special series of lectures. The students lived in halls of residence on the campus of the Academy, and they enjoyed free board and lodging and free tuition; advantage of the communal living of the students was taken to create a paedagogical and social life in the Academy.[12]

The first curriculum of the Paedagogical Academy was intended to be used on an experimental basis for the first two academic years, i.e. 1959-60 and 1960-61. A Curriculum Committee made up of the Principal and several members of staff was therefore set up to carry out a formative evaluation. The Committee felt that the curriculum of the Academy was overambitious and too onerous for both students and staff. In particular, the Committee was unanimous that the curriculum was overloaded with many subjects and contact hours, and that it did

not offer enough chances to the students to develop initiative in the fields of private study and educational research, nor did it allow enough time to the staff to assess the work of the students closely and constructively. After discussing these views with eminent educators and officials from Greece, the Committee concluded that "the curriculum of the Academy was in need of general readjustment".[13]

A special two-day staff conference was convened in September 1960 to discuss the above issue. The conference decided that the Academy should adopt a new curriculum as from September 1961. The main consequences of this change were:

(a) To reduce the contact hours from 38 to 32, which were to be used mainly during the first five days of the week, so that students could have more time for individual study, sports and other activities,

(b) to use the sixth day of the week mainly for demonstration lessons, followed by discussions on them,

(c) to combine the teaching of the content of a subject to the teaching of its methodology, except for the main subjects of the curriculum where they were left separate, and

(d) to readjust the content of several related subjects so as to take some account of those which, as a result of this revision, disappeared altogether.[14]

The Conference also discussed many other methodological and administrative problems related to the work of the Academy, such as the methods of teaching employed by the staff themselves, and the organisation of teaching practice and demonstration lessons. Conferences on paedagogical matters formed an important function in the work of the teaching staff, and they were held in addition to the regular staff meetings which dealt with ordinary administrative

business. Their aim was to plan and co-ordinate the future work of the Academy and develop the staff themselves.[15]

The next change in the course of studies at the Paedagogical Academy was a result of changes envisaged in Greece. It must be borne in mind that the educational system of Cyprus, after independence has identified itself in many respects with the educational system of Greece, mainly for political and economic reasons. In 1964 the Greek Communal Chamber, which was the supreme authority in Greek Cypriot education from August 1960 to March 1965, decided that the educational system of Cyprus should be identified with the on-going educational reforms in Greece as far as its orientation and curricula were concerned.[16] These reforms, called "The Papandreou Reforms of 1964", provided, among other things, that the years of study of the Paedagogical Academies would be extended from two to three, for those who were to be admitted to the Academies as from September 1965.[17] As a matter of fact this reform of the Academies never materialised in Greece itself, because it was set aside in 1967 by the then military government of the country. In Cyprus the extension of the course to three years was nevertheless implemented, giving Cyprus a lead over Greece in this vital domain of education. It was confidently felt by Dr. Spyridakis (who became Minister of Education after the abolition of the Greek Communal Chamber in March 1965) that the extension of the course by one year would enable the Academy to equip the future teachers with a more in-depth theoretical and practical education and training, and to give them the chance of partial specialisation according to their interests and abilities.[18]

The curriculum used in the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus as from the September 1965 for the three-year course was the one drawn up in Greece for use in all Greek Paedagogical Academies.[19] But

minor modifications were made to it to meet local needs. First year students had to take 18 subjects for a total of 36 periods per week (37 for female students), and second year student 19 subjects for a total of 36 periods per week (37 for female students). Third year students had to take 16 subjects for a total of 32 periods per week; they included two elective subjects, one from a group of theoretical subjects (Psychology, Greek, Science, or English) for three periods per week, and another from a group of practical subjects (Music, Art, Handicraft, Physical Education or Home Economics) again for three periods per week.[20]

After the new three-year curriculum was applied for five years it was again realised that the course at the Academy was in need of a major re-organisation. But the reasons put forward this time were more fundamental than those that promoted changes in the previous decade. On opening a Paedagogical Staff Conference in September 1971, the Principal of the Academy, Mr. Michael Maratheftis, declared:

> "Despite previous modifications, the reconsideration of the curriculum and time-table of the Academy is imperative for its effective functioning. The reason is our wish to raise the standard of work at the Academy which has been called by a foreign educational expert "a glorified gymnasium". This of course came as a surprise to us at that time, but we must admit that the way the Paedagogical Academy is functioning is not in essence any different from that of a secondary school. The students have to take a great number of subjects which they study superficially, take their exams which are of the same type as those in a gymnasium and it is impossible, despite everybody's wish, to do in-depth scientific work in the Academy."[21]

It was agreed by all members of staff that, because of the large number of subjects and the many contact hours per week, most subjects were studied superficially and that the staff did not have the time to apply modern methods of work such as tutorials and dissertations. Consequently the students were under stress and their

interest spread over wide areas of knowledge, resulting in low achievement. To remedy these shortcomings the staff suggested that a modular system of courses, based on semesters, should be used. The basic characteristic of this system was the concentration of the subject-matter of a discipline to shorter time spans, e.g. instead of teaching History for one period per week for three years to teach History for two periods per week for three semesters. Another suggestion was to use methods of teaching and work employed in institutions of higher education such as a combination of lectures, seminars, tutorials, discussions, dissertations and continuous assessment.[22]

However, the desired changes came into effect only five years later. In the meantime a new curriculum was adopted by the Greek Ministry of Education for their Paedagogical Academies and the Ministry of Education in Cyprus decided to implement it for the first two years of their three-year course. On the other hand, the years 1973-74 and 1974-75 were crisis years for the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus. During these two academic years no new students were admitted in the Academy, as there was no demand. In September 1975 only 25 students were admitted to the usual teacher training course. But an opportunity was taken to start in the same month a three-year course for kindergarten teachers. The recommendations of the 1971 staff conference for readjusting the curriculum were put into effect in September 1976.[23]

The new curriculum and time-table adopted the modular system of courses, based on semesters, but introduced at the same time several innovations in the methods of presentation by the staff. For example, all the subjects which refer to the content and methodology of teaching of the subjects of the primary school curriculum were considered as one

module which was covered in the first five semesters. The main responsibility for teaching this important module was undertaken by a primary school inspector. He was assisted by other lecturers of the Academy and for this reason team-teaching was used. Special provisions were made in the time-table for the necessary co-ordination meetings of the staff concerned with this type of work. Teaching was carried out either in the building of the Academy or in the buildings of primary schools, and demonstration lessons were included in these activities. It is obvious that through this innovation the co-operation and co-odination between the work of the Academy and the inspectorate became easier to achieve,and at the same time a balance was maintained between academic study of a subject of the primary school curriculum and its methodology of teaching.[24]

After being applied for three years, this modular curriculum was further developed during a staff-student meeting in January 1980, where the focus was placed on the degree of specialisation that is desirable in the Academy. As expected there were differences of opinion between staff and students, as well as among members of each group, but a consensus was reached which seemed to satisfy most points of view. In the same seminar, similar modifications were made to the curriculum for the kindergarten student teachers, who are trained to teach children from 3 to 9 years of age, i.e. in pre-primary classes and in the lower primary school cycle. Primary school teachers are trained to teach in both primary school cycles.[25] The subjects of the curriculum of the Paedagogical Academy and the time allotted to each one of them are listed in Appendices B.1 and B.2.

The frequent revisions of the curriculum of the Academy reflect the concern of the teacher educators in raising the efficiency of teaching and the standard of the work of the Academy as well as the

interest of the inspectorate in the end product. They also reflect the suggestions of foreign experts, for modular organisation of the content of the curriculum. One of them, David Martin, made a more drastic recommendation in 1970:

> "One long-range curricular consideration, which would relieve many of the time pressures on students, faculty and curriculum and which would bring about a drastic improvement in prestige for the Academy and the whole elementary teachers profession, is the addition of a fourth year of study. Such a program could lead to the award of a bachelor's degree. The additional cost to the Republic would be more than repaid in the production of teachers with better paedagogical training and better general education along with additional maturity. Recruitment of better students will follow automatically."[26]

The curricular problems of the Academy reflect two fundamental issues: (a) the degree of specialisation to be pursued through the curriculum, and (b) the balance betwen professional education and general education. These two issues will be discussed in the last chapter of the thesis after considering the views of the students and the teaching staff of the Paedagogical Academy.

8.2.2 The Quality of the Entrants to the Paedagogical Academy

The quality of the students of the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus varied considerably over the years. In this respect, it is possible to distinguish three periods : (a) the period 1959 to 1967, (b) the period 1968 to 1974 and (c) the period 1975 to 1984.

During the period 1959 to 1967 the average recruitment ratio (i.e. the number of applicants to places available at the Paedagogical Academy) was 4:1, and the average failure ratio at the end of the first year (i.e. the ratio of first-year students who had to resit one or more subjects or to repeat the year) was 29 per cent.[27] During those years there was political pressure to accept applicants who came from

families of ex-fighters of the Cyprus Revolution of 1955-59. As reported in the first yearbook of the Academy, in September 1959 fifty students from families of ex-fighters were accepted ex-gratia in the Academy, on top of the normal intake of 197 students, after a decision of the Greek Board of Education.[28] In the following year 31 such applicants were accepted in addition to the normal intake of 109, again after a decision of the Educational Authorities.[29] It seems that this practice continued unofficially for several years.[30]

But even those who were accepted on the strength of their entrance results were not as good as might have been expected. In September 1961, out of 141 entrants, only 17 received a passing mark in all the examinable subjects.[31] Similarly in September 1962, out of 100 entrants only 21 received a passing mark in all the examinable subjects.[32] It can therefore be concluded that the quality of some of the entrants to the Academy during those years left much to be desired.

The situation improved during the second period, 1968 to 1974. The average recruitment ratio rose to 9 applicants for each available place, and the average first-year failure ratio dropped to 13 per cent.[33] From the annual reports of the Principal of the Academy, contained in its yearbooks, it can also be deduced that the quality of the students had improved and could be considered satisfactory.

The quality of the intake of the Paedagogical Academy was largely determined by the demand in other occupations competing for personnel with university qualifications. Of course this was not the only reason but it was a significant one. During the first decade or so of Cypriot independence there was a great demand for graduates in the Government Civil Service, in secondary education and in the private sector. As these posts were more renumerative than primary school teaching, able school-leavers whose families were able to bear the

cost, were attracted to university studies overseas. By 1968 there was an oversupply of graduates, at least in some specialisations. As a result although the trend towards university studies abroad was not checked, some good candidates preferred to study at the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus, because on graduation they were almost assured of appointment.

However another factor came into play, which was very damaging to the quality of teachers in Cyprus. According to the educational legislation enacted by the Greek Communal Chamber, the necessary academic qualification for appointment to a post of primary school teacher was a diploma from a Paedagogical Academy.[34] As the Paedagogical Academies of Greece and Cyprus were mutually recognised as equivalent, Greek Cypriots could study in the Paedagogical Academies of Greece and Greek nationals could study in the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus. But at the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus there was a competitive entrance examination; only applicants whose Greek parents happened to work in Cyprus opted for the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus, whose course also became a three-year one after 1965. On the contrary the Paedagogical Academies of Greece were open to the Greek Cypriots, without entrance examination, and their course was always a two-year course.

In an interview given to the author, the Principal of the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus described the effect of this open-door policy as follows:

> "... Those who could not pass the entrance examination of the Paedagogical Academy in Cyprus could enter the Paedagogical Academies of Greece without an entrance examination, as Greeks of the diaspora. This policy was encouraged by the junta in Greece, during their seven-year rule of 1967-74, for political reasons, although there was an agreement signed in 1965 between the Governments of Greece and Cyprus that no Greek Cypriots would henceforth be accepted in the Greek Paedagogical Academies.
> That situation had a very damaging effect both on the quality

> of teachers and on the work of the Academy. The Academy during those years was contracting and there was even the danger of closing down altogether, because there was an oversupply of teachers from the Paedagogical Academies of Greece and, at the same time, a fall in demand for teachers because of the declining birth rate."[35]

In 1969 the schemes of service of the primary school teachers were revised, and the qualifications required for appointment became either a diploma from a Paedagogical Academy offering a three-year course, or a diploma from a Paedagogical Academy offering a two-year course plus a certificate of satisfactory completion of the third year at a Paedagogical Academy offering a three-year course.[36] Those teachers who were graduates of the Paedagogical Academies of Greece could be appointed only on a temporary basis. The Educational Authorities decided that they ought to attend the third year of the course of the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus, and started to accept them in the Academy as from September 1970.[37] The Principal and the staff of the Academy resented these arrangements because they had to accept in their third year students whom they had already rejected on the strength of their entrance examination results two years earlier. Moreover these newcomers could not follow the pace of work of the other students, and therefore arrangements were made as from September 1971 to be instructed as a separate group. Even so many of them had to resit their final examinations.[38] These arrangements lasted from 1970 to 1975.

In 1975 there was a reactivation of the 1965 agreement between the Education Ministries of Greece and Cyprus that henceforth no Greek Cypriots would be accepted in the Greek Paedagogical Academies and "Training Schools for Kindergarten Teachers". The Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus undertook the training of the latter teachers as from September 1975 and continued of course with the training of primary

school teachers. The extraneous factor of free entrance to kindergarten and primary school teaching having been done away, there remained three other factors which determine the demand for such teachers: the school population, the number of retiring teachers and the pupil-teacher ratio as decided by the Government.

The quality of the students of the Paedagogical Academy during the period 1975 to 1984 was very good. The average recruitment ratio rose to 14 applicants for each available place and the average first-year failure dropped to 3 per cent.[39] In his annual reports of the last five years, the Principal of the Academy proudly drew attention to the high quality of the students and their level of attainment. In June 1983, for example, he had this to say:

> "The level of attainment of our students during last year was very good, and a large number of them achieved excellent results ... During the last decade ... the number of students at the Academy has been considerably reduced, because there was no demand. The number of places available are among the most sought for by school-leavers in the labour market of Cyprus. Usually there are ten applicants for each available place ... Nearly all our entrants have an average mark of 18 out of 20 in their leaving certificate."[40]

The quality of kindergarten and primary school teachers for the next few years is expected to remain high for several reasons. Firstly, the entrance to these professions is now fully controlled. The demand is closely monitored by the Ministry of Education and the number of students to receive training is decided according to this demand. The back door to the Paedagogical Academies or other training institutions in Greece (such as the Training Schools for Kindergarten Teachers) is now closed. Hence the supply of these teachers is likely to match demand. Then, graduate unemployment is confidently expected to continue, so that good candidates will be "pushed" into seeking to become kindergarten or primary school teachers. Finally the average

pupil teacher ratio, which in the academic years 1981-2 and 1982-83 was 21:1, is expected to remain at that level, as a Government policy and as a social demand.[41]

Of course the demand for new teachers is also influenced by the number of teachers retiring in the next few years and by the number of pupils expected to receive schooling during these years (see Appendix B.6). The number of primary school pupils dropped from a maximum of 71,462 in 1965-66 to 44,530 in 1982-83.[42] This large drop in the school population, amounting to 38 per cent, was due basically to the falling birthrate, a common phenomenon in other countries too. It was also due to the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, which after July 1974 forced many pupils and their parents to emigrate mainly to Greece, the United Kingdom, and Australia.[43] From the projections of the Ministry of Education it is calculated that by 1987 the number of primary school pupils will rise by about 10,000, and the availability of facilities for infants over 3 years of age receiving pre-primary education in the state system will increase their number by about 3,500 by that year (see Appendix B.6). It must be borne in mind that pre-primary schooling is not compulsory and many kindergarten teachers work in private institutions; the Academy is also providing for the demand of these kindergarten schools. Provisions of pre-primary schooling by the Government are extended gradually, and this increases the demand for kindergarten teachers.

From these projections it is expected that in the following three to five years the average demand will be about 120 teachers per year.[44] This is a substantial intake if we take into account that in September 1973 and September 1974 there was no intake, and that the average intake from September 1975 to September 1981 was only 35 students. For the last three years (September 1982 to September 1984)

the number of applicants was around 1200 for an average intake of 100 per year.[45] It is therefore expected that both the number of applicants and the number of available places during the next few years will remain at the same levels, and that the quality of students will be maintained.

8.2.3 The Status of the Staff of the Paedagogical Academy

The Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus has not been an autonomous institution of tertiary education, as one might expect, but it has been within the administrative domain of the Department of Secondary and Higher Education of the Ministry of Education. Administratively this has given rise to the notion that the Academy is just another gymnasium (may be of higher standard). According to the "Public Educational Service Law of 1969" all administrative acts related to appointments, transfers, promotions, or secondments of teachers in state schools are within the jurisdiction of the Public Educational Service Commission, an independent body appointed directly by the President of the Republic. In carrying out the above functions, the Public Educational Service Commission asks for the recommendations of the Heads of Departments of the Ministry of Education, but they are not legally bound to act on them.[46]

The only staff post at the Academy which has been legally constituted is that of the Principal. It's legal establishment has been decided by the Council of Ministers and they have also approved a scheme of service for the holder of the post, describing his duties. An item, therefore, appears separately for this post in the annual state budget. The duties of the holder of the post include the assessment and reporting on the work of his subordinate teaching and

other staff.[47]

But the posts of the other teaching staff of the Academy are not yet legally constituted. Over the years the staff was secondend from other branches of the educational service, mainly from secondary education, on an annual basis. Secondment did not carry with it a higher salary scale, except for a small fixed allowance which at the beginning amounted to 10 per cent, but with subsequent upward revisions of the cost of living allowance it has become first 8.25 per cent and to-day it is around 5 per cent.[48] As the posts of lecturer at the Academy were not legally constituted, no official proclamation of vacancies have appeared in the Official Gazette of the Republic. Instead, an informal notice was usually circulated in the primary and secondary schools of the Republic so that interested people might apply to the appropriate Authorities for secondment. There have even been instances when teachers were seconded to the Academy without having requested it, and this was considered as a transfer/secondment. The principal of the Academy as well as the Heads of Department, could suggest possible names. In summary there are not as yet either legally established procedures for staffing the Academy nor clearly defined criteria. The result has been an insecure and ambiguous position for the staff of the Academy. Of course those selected to teach at the Academy were not of average qualifications or ablity. Most of them have had higher academic qualifications than the average teacher of the educational branch where they came from. Their qualifications usually included at least one year's postgraduate training in Education at Diploma or Master's level.[49]

Since the posts are not permanent and there are no promotion possibilities within the Academy itself the staff are likely to leave on being promoted. The result has been a high staff turnover.

Over the years many of the staff sought and obtained higher posts in the Ministry of Education or as deputy headmasters and headmasters of secondary schools. The Paedagogical Academy is rightly considered by teachers as a "parking place", a promising transitory post for something more renumerative. Speaking on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the Academy, on the 29th of June,1979, the principal drew attention to the high turnover of staff in the following way:

> "Because of the lack of established posts for the staff of the Academy during the last twenty years of its life, the Academy has changed 95 lecturers. If we consider that the average number of lecturers for each school-year is about 18, then the staff of the Academy has changed 5.3 times over."[50]

Change of staff 5.3 times in 20 years means that, on average, each member of staff was leaving after less than four years of service in the Academy. This has certainly had a negative impact on the work of the Academy. It usually takes two to three years for a staff member to acquire adequate experience in the Academy and to become fully "productive". The secondary school teacher has to teach from a fairly rigid syllabus with specific books and material to be covered; the staff of the Paedagogical Academy are expected to prepare their own lecture notes and in many cases also to prepare written teaching material in the form of extended notes and appropriate exercises for use by the students since there are no appropriate published material in the Greek language. On the other hand the holders of such insecure posts are not motivated to plan ahead, as their secondment is on an annual basis, nor to develop themselves to the extent they might have done were there permanent or promotion posts in the Academy. By having to leave the Academy in order to be promoted, valuable experience is lost for the Academy, and the Principal has to re-invest more time and energy in staff development.

In an interview given to the author, he summarised his planning problems in the following way:

> "The first problem of the Academy is the status of its staff. All the staff, except the Principal, are on annual secondment from secondary or primary education. It takes two to three years for a lecturer to be acclimatised to the work of the Academy and be really 'productive'. One is not sure whether he will be seconded in the following year, and, if he is promoted, he is certain to leave. This does not help planning by the Principal, nor commitment by the staff."[51]

Another complaint has been the downgrading of the post of Principal. During the British Administration the post of the Principal of the Teachers' Training College was second only to that of the Director of Education. In the post-independence period the salary of the post of the Principal was revised downwards three times. In 1960 the salary of the post was reduced to that of the Chief Inspector of Secondary Schools, that is below the salary of the Head of the Department of Secondary Education and above the salary of the post of Inspector of Secondary Education. In 1967 the salary of the post of the Principal was further reduced to that of an Inspector of Secondary Education. In 1969 the salary of the post of the Principal was reduced even further to that of a Headmaster of Secondary Education with a fixed allowance of 10 per cent on the basic salary. This allowance, with the subsequent upward revisions of the cost of living allowance has come down to around 5 per cent, so that the total salary of the post of the Principal of the Academy has been, since 1969, between the salary of a Secondary School Headmaster, and that of an Inspector of Secondary Education.[52]

One cannot help but agree with the foreign expert who has characterised the Paedagogical Academy a "glorified gymnasium". The work of the Academy was for a very long time of the same type as that

of a gymnasium as the Principal admitted in 1971. The Principal and the staff of the Academy earned almost the same salary as their counterparts in secondary education from where the latter were seconded. Administratively the Academy was under the jurisdiction of the Department of Secondary (and Higher) Education. To add to these administrative misfortunes, part of the building of the Academy was made available to house a gymnasium proper, in the years that the number of students had to be cut down because of reduced demand. Despite these disadvantages the staff of the Academy have been very dedicated and have achieved good results. They would have certainly done better, had they not been subjected to such insecurity and ambiguity.

Foreign experts who have been called to Cyprus to advise the Government have repeatedly stressed the need to attract good quality staff to the Academy and to offer incentives for them to stay.[53] In particular Dr. Martin, Professor of Education at the State University of New York at Albany, who in 1970 reported on the development of the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus, suggested that permanent posts carrying higher salaries should be established for suitably qualified staff, who in addition would be attracted to the Academy by further promotion within the Academy and further training overseas. All these, he suggested, would be achieved in the framework of a separate Department of Higher Education in the Ministry:

> "...To resolve the ambiguity of the Academy faculty, and to raise the status of the institution and the status and morale of the faculty, the Government needs to create a separate classification of higher education service, just as the elementary service and secondary service are now constituted.
>
> Appropriate schemes of service should be devised for this higher educational service, and they should be broad enough to apply to institutions other than the Academy as they develop."[54]

In June 1979, on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the Academy, the Principal and the teaching staff submitted a memorandum to the President of the Republic pleading that the post of the Principal be upgraded so as to carry the same salary as the post of Chief Inspector and that at least three other senior posts be legally established.[55] The Council of Ministers, approved in principle these demands in August 1979.[56] When the salary restructure of the Educational Service was agreed between the Government and the Teachers' Unions in 1981, the salary of the post of the Principal of the Academy was raised to that of a Chief Inspector of Schools (salary scale A.14). It was also agreed that the structure and staffing of the Paedagogical Academy would be studied and negotiated in the future.[57]

Recently a post of Head of Department of Higher Education has been legally established and filled by appointing to it a senior official from the Ministry of Education. The Paedagogical Academy is now under the administrative jurisdiction of this Department. From an interview with the Director of Education which he gave to the author in the summer of 1984, it is clear that the establishment of other permanent posts at the Paedagogical Academy has been postponed and it is now linked to the issue of the establishment of the proposed University of Cyprus, which has not yet materialised.[58] The views of the teaching staff of the Academy and other interested parties on this issue will be discussed in Chapter 16.

8.3 The Paedagogical Ethos Promoted at the Academy

The aim of the course at the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus has always been the pre-service preparation of kindergarten and primary school teachers of Cyprus, so as to be able to satisfy the needs of the

Cypriot society both from the scholastic as well as from the socio-cultural points of view. As set out in an interview given to the author by the principal of the Academy, the efforts of the Academy, throughout its existence aimed in educating and training their students so that they:

> "(a) Acquire a sound paedagogical foundation in child psychology and learning theories,
> (b) learn (at a higher level) the subject-matter of the primary school curriculum, and the relevant methods of teaching...,
> (c) enrich their knowledge on current social problems by studying subjects of general education, and
> (d) develop their personality and in particular their ability for co-operation and groupwork."[59]

These four aims of the course at the Academy are related and influence each other. While the first two aims could be called professional preparation of the students, the way in which the content of the course has been offered, as well as the "paedagogical climate" which the principal and the staff have attempted to create in the Academy, aimed in promoting the other two aims, which can be called personal education of the students.[60] The extent to which these four aims have been achieved could well be the subject of a research study in its own right, but some light is shed on this issue in Chapters 14 and 16, which consider the curricular issues of the Academy.

An interesting seminar of teaching staff and primary school inspectors was held in March 1970 at the Academy in order to examine "what kind of teacher the Academy prepares" and "what is expected from young teachers by the inspectorate". It was emphasised by the Principal of the Academy, during that seminar, that the Academy was not trying to produce "identical" teachers, but that the students were trained in all "current methods of teaching", so that each one of them could "develop his own teaching style" according to his own

personality. Another aim has been to help the students to acquire "flexibility in their views" so that, on the one hand they might be able to modify their methods according to the teaching needs of their schools, taking into consideration possible suggestions by their superiors, colleagues or even pupils, and on the other hand to avoid dogmatism so as to enable them to renovate their knowledge and methods through in-service training activities at later stages of their careers.[61]

In the same seminar the inspectors emphasised that they were expecting from the young teachers, among other qualities, an ability to adapt to changing classroom situations, and that this should even be a criterion for entrance to the Academy, if at all possible.[62] A research study was also presented at that seminar relating to the induction problem of the young teachers. The problems of induction cited referred to the shortcomings of the course at the Academy, the shortcomings of the schools and the lack of adequate support by headmasters and inspectors, all seen through the eyes of the young teachers.[63] Unfortunately out of 267 teachers who were asked to participate in the study, only 27 responded, making the sample unrepresentative. This study became the starting point for one of the surveys of this thesis (see Chapter 14).

A very useful paedagogical exercise which has certainly promoted staff development at the Academy has been its paedagogical conferences. They reflect the developments in the Academy, as well as its needs, and they were of four types: (a) staff conferences (b) staff-student conferences, (c) staff - primary school inspectors conferences, and (d) panhellenic conferences of Paedagogical Academies (see Appendix B.7).

The main subjects discussed during paedagogical staff

conferences were concerned with the curriculum of the Academy, teaching practice, demonstration lessons, methods of teaching, assessment of students and so on. Some of them also included workshop training of staff such as drafting behavioural objectives and using microteaching techniques in classroom observations. The staff-student conferences aimed at eliciting the views of students on curricular problems of the Academy, and on the propriety of assessment techniques used in teaching practice, and generally in enlisting the co-operation and involvement of students in decision-making so as to achieve democratic and responsible behaviour by staff and students and thereby to prepare the latter for similar approaches in schools.

The staff-primary school inspectors conferences aimed at co-ordinating the work of the Academy with the work of the inspectorate. Although this need is obvious in many respects, it did become imperative after a research study (by an inspector and a lecturer of the Academy carried out in 1970) had shown statistically that there was no correlation between the assessment marks given to young teachers by their inspectors and the assessment marks obtained by them, either in their teaching practice or in their overall performance as shown on their graduation certificates.[64] Another way of promoting this co-operation was by the participation of staff of the Academy in departmental committees of the Ministry of Education which review current problems related to the efficiency of teaching in schools. The panhellenic conferences of Paedagogical Academies were concerned with curricular and methodological matters, and above all in discussing and publicising the need for upgrading their course, first from a two-year to a three-year one and later from a three-year to a four-year university course.

The life and work of the students of the Academy was

organised, as far as possible, so as to encourage them to undertake responsibilities both in their academic and professional work and in their socio-cultural activities (see Figure 8.2). For example they were always allowed to take full responsibility of a class during the last week of their last period of teaching practice. Similarly the students' union has been used as a vehicle for initiative and social activities. By being organised in the students' union the students would assume various roles within organised groups, whether they concern relations with similar organisations, or common demands of the student body which need to be properly presented to the principal of the Academy or the Ministry of Education. Within the framework of the Students' Union several clubs and societies catering for special cultural interests gave rise to various intra-mural and extra-curricular activities. The Union also published a students' magazine, called "Spoudastēs" (Student) twice a year, and individual students could contribute to two pages allotted to them in the monthly journal "Expaedeutikos" (Educator), published by the Primary School Teachers' Union. The students' union also operated a co-operative meal service for students at cost price. All these activities aimed at developing initiative and responsibility on the part of the students and at preparing them for useful social roles that might be assumed by them in their place of work.[65] Despite these efforts some of the students complain that they are still treated as secondary school pupils (see Chapter 14).

In the early years of the Academy all the students were boarders in Halls of Residence situated in spacious grounds near the teaching block of the Academy. Unfortunately their construction was defective, and the students had to abandon them. Thereafter a small subsistence allowance was granted to the students and they lived in

(a) Students of the Academy (including the author in the front) working on their own in its Physics laboratory (academic year 1960-61).

(b) The Principal of the Academy speaking at a graduation ceremony, in the presence of the Minister of Education and other officials (academic year 1970-71).

Figure 8.2 Some characteristic activities in the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus.

rented premises usually not very far from the Academy. This dispersion restricted to a certain degree the possibilities of a social and cultural life in the Academy. Another disadvantage was the restricted budget of the library of the Academy, which was insufficient to keep abreast with the literature in Education.[66] An inherent difficulty here is that the available books and journals in the Greek language are limited. Martin suggested in his report that to solve this problem the Government should "subsidize the translation of a considerable number of materials into Greek and reproduce them in sufficient quantities".[67]

Entrance to the Paedagogical Academy has always been by a competitive entrance examination. The number of entrants is decided by the Council of Ministers according to the projected demand. Over the years the written examinations were taken by the candidates in the subjects of Greek, Mathematics, Science, History and General Knowledge. As from September 1975 there was a slight change between the two training sections of the Academy. Candidates for the places of kindergarten teachers were examined only in Greek Language and Literature and in "General Knowledge", while those for the places of primary school teachers had to be examined also in the subjects of Mathematics and Ancient Greek. The subject of "General Knowledge" contains questions from almost all the other subjects that are not specifically examined. As from 1978 the School leaving certificate marks and the certificates of external examinations (such as G.C.E.) are also submitted to the Academy and they are taken into consideration. Finally those shortlisted were interviewed by two panels of staff, mainly to check their ability to speak properly, their interests and their personality. In recent years this was discontinued.[68] The students received free tuition, a monthly subsistence allowance as well as certain books for their studies. In

return they were always bound by contract to work as primary school teachers in Cyprus for at least five years.[69]

Important parts of the work of the Paedagogical Academy, probably the most valued by the students for their direct paedagogical and practical value have been the demonstration lessons and the teaching practice. Demonstration lessons were held in selected schools in Nicosia until a "model school" was built on the grounds of the Academy itself. These lessons are conducted by the regular teachers of the school as well as by the staff of the Academy and the students themselves. Teaching practice was usually done on a block basis, for a total of 14 weeks, of which one block of two weeks during the first year, two blocks of three weeks each during the second year, and another two blocks of three weeks each during the last year. Another programmed experience for the students is the observation of the opening and closing activities of the primary school of their village or neighbourhood. Each student is expected to give proof of conscientious preparation and initiative during teaching practice. The headmaster of the school where a student is practising submits a report on the work of the student and the teaching staff of the Academy visit those schools for purposes of guidance and evaluation. An attempt was made over the years to ensure that teaching practice would be in various types of schools and classes.[70] Yet some young teachers complained, in answering a questionnaire for this thesis, that they did not have enough teaching practice in small schools (see Chapter 14.)

To add to the paedagogical climate promoted by the Academy, it has been active in the dissemination of educational information. It publishes the quarterly "Bulletin of Current Paedagogical Information", which is distributed free of charge to all schools of the island and contains extended summaries of current articles on educational matters.

An annual publication of the Academy has been the "Yearbook of the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus" which reports on the work of the Academy and contains papers by the principal and the staff. Other occasional publications have also been produced.[71]

8.4 Prospects of Upgrading the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus

The Padagogical Academy of Cyprus has been offering a three year course as from September 1965, while the Paedagogical Academies of Greece have always offered a two-year course since their establishment in 1933. The decision to extend their course to three years as from September 1965, as a result of the "George Papandreou Reforms of 1964", was reversed by the military Government of Greece in 1967.[72] Following the restoration of democratic rule in Greece in 1974 there was increased support by all political parties for increasing the years of study to three. However, no corresponding legislation was enacted until the Government of Andreas Papandreou passed the framework law "On the Structure and Functioning of Institutions of Higher Education" (Law 1268/1982). That law provided that the Paedagogical Academies, which train primary school teachers, and the "Schools for Kindergarten Teachers" would be abolished, and that "Departments of Education for Primary School Teachers" and "Departments of Education for Kindergarten Teachers" would be established in the universities of Greece, offering four-year courses.[73] The law is being put gradually into effect as from September 1984. In Cyprus itself, the possibility of upgrading its Paedagogical Academy has been connected with the plans for establishing the proposed University of Cyprus. Neither project has as yet materialised, but the pressure of the Greek example will soon be felt by the Cyprus Government.

In April 1961 the First Panhellenic Conference of the Paedagogical Academies was convened in Nicosia to discuss their curricular problems. The conference strongly suggested the extension of studies in the Academies to three years. The suggestion was put into effect in 1965 in both Greece and Cyprus, although it was later aborted in Greece. In October 1979, on the occasion of the bicentinary celebrations of the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus, the Second Panhellenic Conference of Paedagogical Academies was convened in Nicosia to discuss curricular problems of the Academies and in particular the prospects of upgrading the Paedagogical Academies to university institutions.[74] Other conferences were also convened in Greece by university professors of education and by the teachers' trade unions to discuss the same issue.

The reasons put forward in these conferences reflect the genuine need for upgrading the courses of the Academy so as to prepare future teachers of primary and pre-primary schools in a better way. But they also reflect vested interests. The kindergarten and primary school teachers and their union know very well that if the standard of their studies is raised they will be in a better position to demand from their employer (in this case the Government) higher salaries, and they have a concrete point of reference: If the studies for kindergarten and primary school teachers become four-year studies of university level then why should they not enjoy the same salaries as their secondary school colleagues? It is also assumed that serving teachers will have the opportunity to raise their qualifications through intensive in-service courses. Then there are the staff of the Academy, who would like to see their institution upgraded because they hope to stay in the new upgraded institution and enjoy the higher prestige and higher salaries enjoyed in university institutions.

Finally, the primary school inspectors support the idea because as a result of such changes they are likely to see their own salaries raised to those of secondary school inspectors. The Cyprus Government which has to find the money both for the increased expense for pre-service training and for the concommitant salary bill for the end product is not in a hurry. Yet the reasons for upgrading the Paedagogical Academy are so compelling, and the pressure from the Greek example so strong that Cyprus has to follow suit.

8.4.1 Genuine Reasons for Upgrading the Academy

The genuine reasons put forward by those advocating that the studies of the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus should be extended to university standard of four-years' duration can be classified under four headings : (a) the explosion of knowledge, (b) the needs of the teaching profession, (c) the foreign competition and (d) the social position of the teacher.

The expansion of knowledge has reached immense proportions in the education disciplines both in theoretical dimensions and in practical applications. The future kindergarten and primary school teacher must be in a position to understand and make use of research findings of the education disciplines. The present curriculum does not allow an in-depth study of the education disciplines because it is restricted to three years, and in that time the student has to acquire knowledge and skills in many subjects of the curriculum he has to teach since he is going to be a generalist, not a specialist teacher. In a similar way the expansion of knowledge is felt in other subjects and the kindergarten and primary school teacher needs to acquire this large general knowledge to make use of it in his own classroom and in his

social contacts with other people.

The profession of the kindergarten and primary school teacher requires deep knowledge of the pupil and above all scientific problem-solving disposition, and ability to face novel phychological situations. The present programmes are of necessity encyclopaedic and cannot cater for the in-depth study of the disciplines of education or of the practice of education in a scientific way. More years of study would allow more time for specialisations and for teaching practice.

Cyprus, although not industrialised to the degree other european countries are, is european in character and societal disposition. Being poor in natural resources the island needs to develop its human resources. Greater length and better quality of teacher education means better development of human resources so as to be able to compete successfully in the modern world, in all spheres of activity, including the educational sphere.

Finally the social position of the kindergarten and primary school teachers, especially in the present state of availability of education to the masses, must be considered. To-day he is not the only educated person in his community; many others are much more educated than him. His limited education results in a sense of inferiority both socially and salarywise, so that usually good school-leavers are not attracted to the profession, and those who follow it are "pushed" to it because of limited openings in other occupations. So even if some good candidates follow this profession they feel dissatisfied and their "efficiency" is reduced. These feelings will disappear if these teachers are educated and trained at university level.

It must be emphasised that important things in the proposed upgrading are not only the extension of the time of the studies to four years, but also the raising of the quality of the education and

training to be provided.[75]

8.4.2 Possible Ways of Upgrading the Academy

There are three possible ways of upgrading the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus and deciding its administrative relationship to the proposed University of Cyprus:

(a) It could become an autonomous institution of university status for the education and training of teachers,

(b) it could become the School or Department of Education of the University of Cyprus, or

(c) it could remain as it is, under the administrative auspices of the Ministry of Education, but connected with the University of Cyprus from which the graduates of the Academy might obtain their degrees.

All three choices are possible, but if past experiences are a guide, the Academy is likely to follow the Greek example and become a Department of Education for Kindergarten and Primary School Teachers.[76] Further discussion on this subject, related to the views of students, teacher educators, teachers, and "officials" is reserved for later chapters of the thesis.

CHAPTER 9

THE PAEDAGOGICAL INSTITUTE OF CYPRUS

In-service training for primary school teachers was formalised in the early 1950's under the enlightened guidance of Dr. Sleight, Director of Education and ex-principal of the Teachers' Training College, Morphou. Virtually no provisions for in-service training of secondary school teachers were ever made by the Colonial Government, since secondary education remained largely outside its province. Following the London Agreement of February 1959 for an independent Cyprus, both primary and secondary education came under the jurisdiction, first of the Greek Board of Education (May 1959) and later of the Greek Communal Chamber (August 1960). In March 1965, after the intecommunal troubles of 1964 and the withdrawal of the Turkish Cypriots from the Government, the Greek Communal Chamber decided to dissolve itself, and Greek Cypriot education became the province of the newly established Ministry of Education.[1*]

All the Greek Cypriot Educational Authorities continued and later improved the provisions for in-service training of primary school teachers, and extended them to pre-primary and secondary school teachers. It was realised, however, that a central Agency was necessary to co-ordinate and possibly extend these in-service training activities. The Ministry of Education requested from Unesco the services of an educational consultant to advise them "on the means and resources needed for the establishment of effective in-service training arrangements for teachers at all levels of education."[2] Professor

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* Notes and references to this chapter start on page 890.

George Wedell of Manchester University was asked by Unesco to undertake that mission. In 1970 Wedell visited Cyprus and studied the problem, and in April 1971 he submitted his report, suggesting the establishment of an Institute of Education in Cyprus. The Cyprus Government accepted that proposal and a "Paedagogical Institute" was established and started functioning substantially as from January 1975. This chapter examines the developments leading to the establishment of the Institute, its work, its problems and its prospects.

9.1 In-Service Training Activities During the Period 1960 to 1974

After independence, there was a continuation of the procedures used in the last 10 years of the British Administration for formal and in-formal in-service training of primary school teachers. The participation of teachers was originally encouraged by their trade unions, and they continued to take part in summer courses in large numbers.[3] During the summer of 1963, for example, there were 1360 primary school teachers, forming about two thirds of the primary school teacher population, who participated in these courses. Similarly in the summer of 1964, there were 1446 primary school teachers, forming about three quarters of their number, who voluntarily participated in those courses. Many of them used to take part in more than one course, so that the actual number of individual participants was lower, but the participation rate was still significantly high.[4] The lecturers for these courses were drawn from the inspectorate and the staff of the Paedagogical Academy, and were often augmented by lecturers from Greece, the United Kingdom,and the United States, who were usually consultants to the Ministry of Education.[5]

The usual daily programme of these summer courses was one or

two lectures followed by discussion and practical work in small groups. Each summer course lasted usually one or two weeks, and their location was spread over the island so as to be accessible to as many teachers as possible. The usual subjects of these courses were Psychology, Organisation of the Curriculum, and Methodology of teaching a certain subject. For certain practical subjects, the content of the subject was also included. During the summer courses of 1963, for example, the subjects dealt with were: Education and Psychology, Work in Pre-primary Classes, Methods and Content of Teaching Language Subjects, Mathematics, History, Geography, Home Economics, Art, Physical Education, Music, and Agriculture.[6]

In addition to these formal ways of in-service training, the headmasters and the inspectorate involved themselves in informal in-service training activites during working time. Once a week the headmaster of each primary school called a staff conference to discuss administrative and paedagogical problems arising from the work of his school. The inspectorate, besides inspecting in the formal sense, used to have informal consultations with the teachers and advised them where they felt there was a need. During their visits to schools, they were sometimes accompanied by foreign consultants and these people had the opportunity to observe the work of the schools and to exchange ideas and views on pedagogical matters with headteachers and teachers. On a more formal basis, the inspectorate organised area conferences of teachers, usually of one day's duration, in order to co-ordinate the work of the schools or to examine special problems of schools and teachers. Such conferences were the "Headmaster's Conferences", concerned with school administration, the "New Teachers' Conferences", concerned with the problems of induction of new teachers, "Conferences of Staff of Small Schools", concerned with the problems of one-teacher

and two-teacher schools, and finally "Subject Conferences" on problems related to the teaching of various subjects.[7]

Another form of in-service education for a small number of selected primary school teachers and primary school inspectors was the award of scholarships for further educational studies overseas. These scholarships were made available either by the Government or by foreign Governments through the Government of Cyprus. They usually lasted one or two years and provided further training in education and methods of teaching. They were held in colleges and universities usually in Greece, the United Kingdom,and the United States.[8]

In-service training of primary school teachers stemmed not only from the pursuit of improvement in teaching quality both by the Educational Authorities and by the teachers themselves, but it was also a necessity in implementing changes and reforms introduced in elementary education. In 1968, for example, "Modern Mathematics" was to be introduced into primary education and there was an urgent need for re-training all primary school teachers in the "new" discipline. A whole series of text-books and teacher's guides on "Modern Mathematics" used in primary schools in the United States of America was translated, under licence, into the Greek language by specially formed working groups of primary school inspectors and teachers. The content of "Modern Mathematics", the methodology of teaching it, and the proper use of the new text-books were subjects which, it was felt, ought to be discussed and assimilated by the teachers before any attempts could be made to implement the change; hence the need for in-service training on a large scale. Like-wise the re-introduction of English as a foreign language in the top two classes of primary schools, the lowering of the age of admission, educational reforms introduced in Greece in 1964 and copied in Cyprus, and the use of educational broadcasting to schools as

from 1968, all called for increased in-service training activities both formal and informal if there was any chance of these changes being successfully implemented.[9]

Full programmes of summer courses were held during the first six years of independence (1960-1966). However, very soon the primary school teachers came to realise that they were not legally bound to participate in in-service training activities taking place in their own free time, and their union used this as a weapon in their negotiations with the Government over their salaries, especially at times when in-service training was necessary for the introduction of changes in the primary schools. The 14th Pancyprian Conference of the General Representatives of the Primary School Teachers' Union held in November 1966 discussed the subject of in-service training and determined the union policy, as follows: A comprehensive plan for periodical in-service training of all teachers should be drawn up, in-service training should be carried out during working time, i.e. at the expense of the employer, and travelling, accommodation, and subsistence allowances should be paid to the participants.[10]

The Ministry of Education was not ready to accept even the minimal demand of bearing the cost of travelling to attend an in-service training activity. In the period 1967 to 1969 there was a protracted dispute between the Government and the primary school teachers over their salary scales, and they went on strike several times.[11] The Ministry of Education, being unable to offer even travelling expenses did not organise any in-service training courses for the summer of 1967.[12] In May 1968 the primary school teachers went on a "warning strike" and at the same time their union banned all out of school activities, including in-service training. Threfore, no summer courses were run in 1968.[13] In October 1968, when negotiations

with the Government over salaries broke down, the Primary School Teachers' Union proclaimed "work to rule and a no co-operation" with the Educational Authorities.[14] The Bill for the revision of teachers' salaries which was enacted by the House of Representatives in November 1968 did not meet their demands, although it provided for an intermediate promotion post, but without administrative duties. Normal working relations with the Authorities were later restored, but there was much ill-feeling on the part of the primary school teachers. When the Ministry of Education sent a circular informing teachers of a series of in-service training summer courses planned for 1969 the Primary School Teachers' Union put an "embargo" on all vacation courses, i.e. banned their members from attending.[15]

The policy of the Primary School Teachers Union, as communicated to the Ministry of Education, on 14th August 1970, crystallised in the following:

(a) There is a need for a properly organised in-service training system.

(b) The system of formal inservice training should take three forms as follows:

  (i) Long courses, during working time, for 50 to 100 teachers at a time, at a Central Paedagogical Institute, which should be staffed with lecturers from Greece and other countries.

  (ii) Short courses, for all the teachers each year, held at district level in September during the first 10 days of the academic year; the academic year should be shortened by 10 days and no courses should be run in vacation times, and

  (iii) Regional Education Conferences should be convened by the respective inspectors and held during working time only.

(c) All teachers attending any of the above in-service training

courses should do so free of charge, on full salary and, where needed, reimbursed with subsistence and travelling expenses, and

(d) Following the successful attendance by a teacher at one of the long courses at the Central Paedagogical Institute, a "recognised certificate" should be issued which should be an advantage for promotion purposes.[16]

The latter point was quickly taken up by the Educational Authorities. In revising the schemes of service for primary school teachers, after the new salary scales of November 1968 came into effect, it was agreed and included in those schemes for the promotion post of school principal that "a certificate of successful attendance of a special in-service training course, organised by the Ministry of Education should be considered as an additional qualification". In this way an incentive for in-service training was embodied in the schemes of service. But the union continued its "embargo", awaiting to see what the Government was going to do about the In-service Training Centre, the necessity of which was accepted by the Government.[17]

The position of the secondary school teachers was different. One reason was the absence of any tradition of either self-contained pre-service training or in-service training. There was not even an inspectorate of secondary education during the British Administration. The prevailing approach to teaching was lecturing "from the platform" on subject-matter closely bound to that of the text-book designated for each subject, and strict adherence to a system of oral and written examinations. After independence secondary school inspectors were appointed who, as required by their schemes of service, had at least a year of post-graduate paedagogical studies. As normally understood, their function was that of an evaluator as well as of an adviser to their subordinates. During their visits to secondary schools they used

"Developmental functions:

1. The promotion of educational research, development and evaluation.
2. The provision of an effective documentation and dissemination service.
3. The provision of an educational technology and materials service.

Operational functions:

1. The probationary training of secondary school teachers.
2. The probationary training of primary school teachers.
3. The in-service training of all teachers between the completion of the probationary period and retirement.
4. The assistance of teachers wishing to improve their formal academic qualifications."[30]

Special emphasis was placed by Wedell on the developmental functions of the proposed Institute. Without research and development, the Institute could not be anything more than a resource centre for ideas developed overseas under very different conditions. Therefore, it was suggested, opportunities for teachers to undertake research with direct bearing on local needs "should be built into the pattern of in-service training for teachers"[31] Naturally the Institute ought to be also a resource centre for educational information and materials and for their effective documentation and dissemination.[32]

One of the most crucial tasks for the proposed Institute was to be the formal in-service training of probationary teachers. For secondary school probationers, Wedell suggested a six-week course in three blocks of two weeks each, spread over their two-year period of probation. For primary school probationers, all of whom were to be graduates from a three-year course at the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus, Wedell suggested a shortened version of the secondary school probationers' course, of three weeks duration, again spread over their two-year probationary period. The proposed content for the probationers' course was in the areas of Principles of Education,

Methodology of Teaching, Practical Work on Teaching Aids, Research Methods, Tutorial Supervision, and Project Work (see Appendix B.8).[33]

For the mass of teachers Wedell proposed one week's training every year. Such in-service training, Wedell suggested, would be made available at regional centres and be very practical in character.[34] Finally the Institute would provide teachers with the opportunity to improve their formal academic qualifications. This could be possible if the Institute was associated with foreign universities. To encourage teachers to pursue such studies in their own time, Wedell suggested that on obtaining such further academic qualifications a teacher should be granted a special allowance.[35]

Wedell made detailed recommendations about the internal structure and external status of the proposed Institute. He suggested a semi-autonomous status with a co-operative element from all those concerned with education, but under the jurisdiction of the Ministry.[36] He also made detailed recommendations about staffing by lecturers at scales of payment ranging from that of a secondary school deputy headmaster to that of an inspector. He proposed a system of secondment for periods of three to five years.[37] This proposal proved to be most damaging in the planning of the work of the Institute, as will be shown later.

9.3 Establishment of the Paedagogical Institute of Cyprus

Following a proposal by the Minister of Education in 1972, the Council of Ministers of the Republic decided that a "Paedagogical Institute" be established and function "along the lines proposed in the Wedell Report".[38] In December 1972 the Chief Inspector of Secondary Education, Dr. John Koutsakos, was appointed Director of the

Paedagogical Institute.[39] But it was only after three years that it started to function in any substantial capacity as an in-service teacher training institution.[40] The delay was due to conflicts over (a) its governance, (b) its status, and (c) its functions. These matters have not been fully resolved even to-day (1985).

Wedell suggested in his report that the proposed "Institute of Education" ought to have "an element of autonomy", to be financed from the budget of the Ministry of Education and governed by a Governing Body.[41] But the schemes of service of the Heads of Department of the Ministry included in-service training as one of their duties, and they claimed the right of administrative jurisdiction over the Institute.[42] The three teachers' unions - primary, secondary general, and secondary technical - demanded that the Institute should be placed under the administrative jurisdiction of a Governing Body, on which they and the Ministry would be equal partners.[43] Obviously, if they occupied a strong position on its Governing Body, the unions would have been able to influence decisions and serve their own interests. Finally, the Ministry of Finance was not prepared to bear the cost of releasing teachers on full pay to attend in-service courses, as had always been the demand of the teachers' unions.

To resolve these difficulties, the Ministry of Education set up a "Consultative Committee for the Paedagogical Institute" made up of the Director of the Institute, officials from the Ministry of Education and from the Ministry of Finance, and representatives of the three teachers' unions. The functions of this Committee were simply consultative, and this did not satisfy the teachers' unions, whose demand was for a strong voice on a Governing Body. The Consultative Committee agreed on the following: (a) the Government would bear the cost for the probationary training of secondary school teachers by

releasing them from their duties on full pay for one day per week for one year, and (b) short courses of one to two weeks duration, for teachers nearing promotion from one pay scale to another, as required by their schemes of service, would be run at the beginning of the school-year, in early September.[44] It was also agreed that the Institute would start functioning officially in early 1975.[45] But there was no agreement on the status of the Institute, on whether in-service training would be carried out during working time or free time of the teachers (i.e. at the expense of the employer or of the teachers), on the staffing of the Institute and so on. It was simply agreed at those meetings of the "Consultative Committee for the Paedagogical Institute" that the Ministry of Education would draw up proposals on these issues to be discussed at later meetings.

The Primary School Teachers' union was most vocal in protestations about the Paedagogical Institute. To strengthen their hand, they carried out in 1973 a survey of primary school teachers in order to elicit their views on various aspects of in-service training, including those which had a direct relevance to union demands, such as incentives, duration of courses, certification, time of in-service training and so on. In the politically active atmosphere of 1973, and at a time when primary school teachers were full of complaints about their salary scales, the respondents to that survey threw all the responsibility for in-service training on the employer: Teachers should attend courses during term-time, on full pay; courses should last from three to six months and lead to certificates recognised for promotion; and generally all responsibility for promoting the professional competence of teachers was laid squarely on the Government.[46] In the academic year 1975-76 the embryonic staff of the Paedagogical Institute conducted another survey of primary, secondary general and secondary

technical teachers, in order to find out their perceived needs in paedagogical training. Statistically large differences between the three types of teachers were revealed by this survey. In order to satisfy those needs the Director of the Institute drew up detailed plans and syllabi for in-service courses.[47]

The Paedagogical Institute was staffed by yearly secondments. In the beginning a few inspectors were seconded for part-time duties, together with some headmasters and assistant headmasters mainly from secondary education. But after a year or so no inspectors or headmasters were seconded for service to the Institute; instead the Institute was staffed by seconding mainly secondary school teachers and secondary school assistant headmasters. The reasons for this change are not clear. Secondment of an officer or teacher can be carried out only if the holder of a post agrees to it and can be terminated at any time by either party.[48] Probably the inspectors who had been seconded to the Institute did not want their part-time secondment to continue; the number of the inspectors was inadequate anyway, and they also had supervisory, administrative and advisory duties.[49] For their own reasons headmasters preferred to be directing a school rather than being seconded to the Institute, at the same salary, and often having to lecture in the afternoon.

During the first four years (1975 to 1978) the staff of the Institute was housed in a building used by the secondary school inspectorate, until a building was purpose-built adjacent to that of the Paedagogical Academy (see figure 9.1). During those years the staff used the library accommodation of several schools for their teaching activities. After moving to their new building in January 1979, they used it for courses attended by teachers from the Nicosia, Larnaca and Famagusta districts.[50] For teachers coming from the

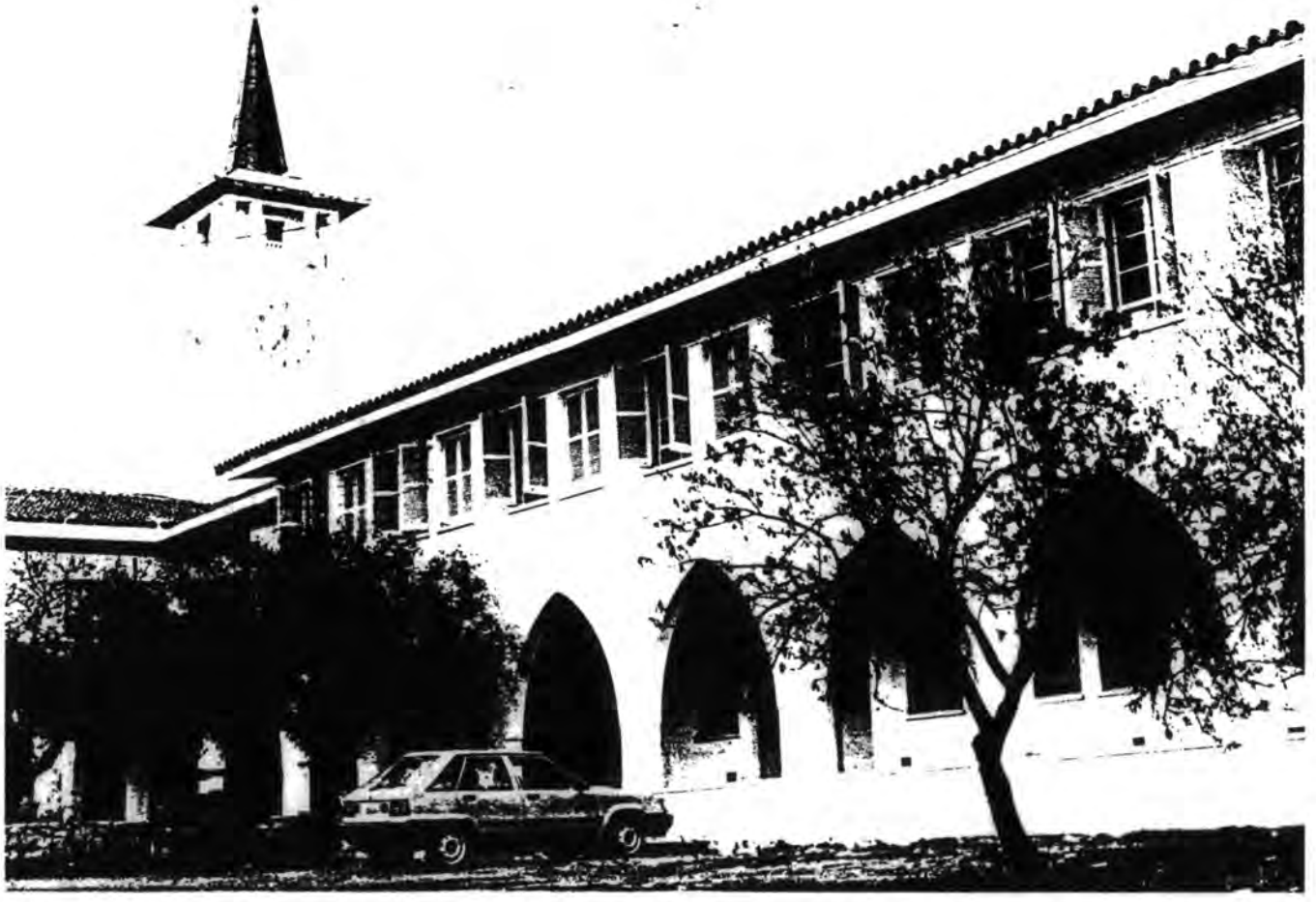

Figure 9.1 A view of the building of the Paedagogical Institute of Cyprus, with the tower of the Paedagogical Academy in the background.

Limassol and Paphos districts they continued to use library accommodation arranged in a secondary school in the town of Limassol. For demonstration lessons, and discussions related to them, they always used the building of the school in which they were carried out in each case; no "model school" has been attached to the Institute, as it is the case with the Paedagogical Academy. Wedell suggested in his report (1971) the erection of two precints one in Famagusta and one in Limassol, but this was not financially possible after the Turkish invasion of the island in 1974.[51]

In September 1976, one and a half years after the Institute started functioning as an in-service teacher training institution, the three teachers' unions issued a circular to their members banning them from attending any of the courses of the Paedagogical Institute. They complained that "their views on the status of the Institute and the way they thought it ought to function" had been totally disregarded.[52] In January 1977, after the Ministry reassured them that new consultations on the status of the Institute would start soon, they agreed to lift their embargo.[53]

New consultations began but no definite decision was taken; rather an interim agreement, perpetuating the undefined situation was reached. It was agreed that (a) the Institute should continue to function in its present form as one of the "services" of the Ministry of Education and (b) the issues of staffing, status, and functions of the Institute should be subjects for discussion at the proposed overall "evaluation and salary restructure" of the eductional service.[54] The unions did lift their embargo but they did not agree to in-service training in the free time of the teachers; they have, however, left them free to do as they liked. As it happened, an agreement on the evaluation and salary restructure of the educational service was

reached in January 1981, but the problems of the Paedagogical Institute (as well as those of the Paedagogical Academy) were left to be discussed at a later date.[55] It seems that they were not urgent either for the Ministry of Education, or for the trade union officials. Until to-day (1985) no agreement has been reached as to the status, staffing, and functions of the Institute.

9.4 Major Aspects of the Work of the Paedagogical Institute

Despite so many disadvantages the work of the Paedagogical Institute has been noteworthy. This must be attributed to three factors: (a) the "enormous efforts of its Director", (b) the "zeal shown by its teaching staff", and (c) the valuable technical aid provided by foreign consultants attached to the Institute.[56] The academic freedom and the paedagogical environment created by these three factors acted as a stimulant to the day-to-day work of the Institute. At least once a week there was a staff development meeting, during which either the Director, or a foreign consultant attached to the Institute,or a member of staff would present a review paper on a subject either of general interest or related to the functions of the Institute, and a discussion followed. The staff also engaged in abstracting educational journals to prepare "The Educational Abstracts" published by the Institute, and they often referred to them during their staff development meetings. In these ways the staff developed themselves and each other and the functions of the Institute were effectively co-ordinated.[57]

The activities promoted by the Paedagogical Institute substantially followed the lines proposed by Wedell. There were, however, economic and functional constraints not foreseen during the

euphoric times of the early 1970's. Basically the activities of the Institute have been "operational", i.e. relating to in-service training, and "developmental", i.e. relating to educational research, documentation and dissemination of educational information and materials. In-service training courses have been either obligatory or voluntary. Developmental activities were support activities to these courses and to education in general.

One of the most important courses offered by the Paedagogical Institute has been the "probationers' course" for in-service training of secondary school teachers. This course was established in September 1975 and has been offered every year ever since. All secondary school teachers are obliged to attend this course after their appointment to a permanent post on probation. To do this, the teacher is released from duty on full pay for one day (four periods) per week for one year. This release works out at about 30 days in a year. Usually the course takes place every Monday, from 8.00 to 13.00 o'clock, at two centres, one in Nicosia at the building of the Institute and one in Limassol at the library of the "Laniteion Gymnasion". School accommodation is also used in case of demonstration lessons. Teachers from the Nicosia, Larnaca and Famagusta districts attend the course in Nicosia, and teachers from the Paphos and Limassol districts in Limassol.[58]

The syllabus of the course was based on the suggestions put forward by Wedell, but year by year it was revised, such revisions being based on the experience gained in its application (see Appendix B.9). Basically the course referred to the following areas: General and Subject-based Methodology of Teaching (lesson planning, delivery and evaluation); Educational Technology and Teaching Aids; Demonstration Lessons and Discussions using Microteaching Techniques;

Elements of History, Philosophy, Sociology and Physchology of Education; and a Project on a paedagogical or subject-matter topic related to the teacher's work.[59] The staff of the Institute used various media for presentation of their subject; they also circulated handouts, usually prepared by the Director, which after being used for several years took the form of a voluminous book entitled "Modern Didactics", which is now used as a text-book for the course.[60] The usual approach was a lecture by a member of staff to all the participants, followed by a discussion and practical work in groups according to specialisation, under the guidance of a member of staff who was a specialist in the same subject. At the end of the year an evaluation of the course by both staff and students was carried out.

Other compulsory courses have been the so-called "promotion courses" from one pay scale to another, without any administrative duties. Such a course was organised for primary school teachers nearing promotion from the post of "teacher", on pay scale B.2, to the post of senior teacher, called "teacher A", on pay scale B.3. Similarly for secondary school teachers there has been a "promotion course" for those nearing promotion from pay scale B.10 to pay scale B.12.[61] These courses lasted from one to two weeks and were carried out at the beginning of the school year, in Nicosia and Limassol. Their content was similar to that of the probationers' course, but the aim was to draw more on the experience of the teachers than to present new material. However, the new schemes of service, that came into effect as a result of the agreement between the Government and the teachers' unions early in 1981, do not demand attendance at an in-service course for promotion from one scale to another, and these "promotions courses" faded away.[62]

Besides these compulsory courses there has been a great

number of voluntary short courses. They have been usually called "seminars" to distinguish them from longer courses, but there has been no strict adherence to this nomenclature. They have been run during the afternoons, depending on the needs of the teachers and their willingness to attend, since they were held in the teachers' free time. Attendance at such courses varied from subject to subject and from place to place. They were held at regional centres so as to be accessible to as many teachers as possible, but they were best attended in remote locations, such as the Paphos district.[63] Their duration varied depending on the subject, but the name "short" is appropriate. The subjects of these seminars also varied. During the academic year 1984-85, for example, such courses for primary school teachers were mainly concerned with the content of the new syllabus recently introduced in these schools; for secondary general and technical teachers they were mainly concerned with the methodology of teaching language subjects and the introduction of computers in schools. There were also seminars of interdepartmental character on subjects such as school administration, educational research, educational technology and documentation.[64]

At times the staff of the Paedagogical Institute have also run crush courses, lasting a week or so, for young secondary school teachers who were on contract. These courses have not been institutionalised, that is they have not received a permanent character, as the appointment of a teacher on contract is usually done in late September or early October, and sometimes even in the middle of the year. These are indeed the people most in need of training.[65] Other occasional courses for outside institutions were also organised by the Paedagogical Institute. Such courses were held for the teaching staff of the Higher Technical Institute, for the students of the Hotel

and Catering Institute and for the Civil Service, and all depended on the demand.[66] However, according to a recent report (1982), there is a pressing need for organised in-service training for the Civil Service, especially for the new entrants.[67]

The number of people who participated in the various courses of the Paedagogical Institute is impressive. For example, during the first five years the average yearly attendance was 1400 people, out of a total teacher population of around 5,000.[68] Yet, as will be amplified later, these are mostly the good teachers who are less in need of in-service training; the average and below average teacher, is still outside the influence of the Institute, simply because no universal system of training has yet been agreed between the educational authorities and the teachers' unions.

Two other suggestions of Wedell's for the operational activities of the Paedagogical Institute have not been put into effect. Wedell suggested a probationary in-service training course for primary school teachers, of three weeks' duration. This was not an urgent need because primary school teachers receive three-years' training at the Paedagogical Academy. Wedell was led to suggest this course because the primary school inspectors and the Primary School Teachers' Union, responding to his questionnaire placed "inadequate staff training" high in their perceived causes of deficiencies in the quality of teaching in schools.[69] A better arrangement might have been to release some of the staff of the Academy from their teaching duties one day per week in order to visit the probationers, who had been their students in the previous year, and advise them on the spot. In that way the staff would have also acquired valuable feedback about the effectiveness of their own training programmes in the Academy.

Finally, the suggestion of Wedell that the Institute should

assist teachers wishing to improve their formal qualifications was not pursued, probably because it was not a priority.[70] But many of the staff of the Institute took advantage of the presence of foreign consultants at the Institute and devised proposals for post-graduate degrees in education as external students of British and American universities.

The operational activities of the Institute are those which are easily identifiable by outside observers. Yet the developmental functions of the Institute were equally noteworthy. They include all three areas suggested by Wedell, i.e. education research, documentation and dissemination, and educational technology. In the area of educational research the efforts of the Institute concentrated more on action research, the aim being to create a "reliable educational data-bank within the Cyprus context, that could be of use both to the educational authorities in their policy-making, and to the teachers in the classroom".[71] In the first 10 years of the life of the Institute a total of 16 research studies have been completed by the staff, some of them have been published in book form by the Insitute, and some of them have been published in summary form by local and foreign educational journals.[72]

In the area of documentation and dissemination of educational information the aim has been to supply the teachers with information about new trends and practices in education. This was done by abstracting 25 to 30 foreign educational journals, and by publishing these abstracts. The Institute has also published research findings, some twenty books and several learning packages.[73] The results of these documentation activities have been supplied to schools, and to interested teachers at cost price, but they were also used on a more systematic basis as support material for in-service training courses

and seminars. Abstracting of educational journals was also useful to the staff, to keep them abreast of the general trends in education and in their own specialist field. Another way of disseminating educational information has been a weekly educational broadcast for half an hour, prepared by members of staff of the Institute.[74]

In the area of educational technology the aim has been to supply certain materials for the reinforcement of teaching, but also to encourage teachers to construct their own audio-visual aids and to train them in handling related equipment.[75] Again these aims have been pursued through in-service training activities as well as by the actual production of materials by the Institute. Substantial numbers of slides, tapes, cassettes and other audio-visual aids have been produced at the Institute and any school can buy these material at cost price.[76] Another activity in which most members of staff have been involved is curriculum development; this was usually carried out in co-operation with the inspectorate and other teachers specially seconded to the Ministry for that purpose. The usual activities in this respect have been the drafting or re-drafting of syllabi, the writing of text-books for the pupils and the production of audio-visual aids.[77]

9.5 Foreign Technical Assistance to the Paedagogical Institute

Foreign technical aid to the Paedagogical Institute has been supplied mainly through the Fullbright Commission, the British Council, and the German Agency for Technical Co-operation. Such aid took three basic forms: (a) supply of foreign lecturers, (b) supply of equipment and teaching materials, and (c) award of scholarships.[78]

The foreign lecturers who assisted in the work of the Paedagogical Institute were either full-time visiting lecturers

attached directly to the Institute, or foreign consultants advising the Ministry of Education on various issues, and advantage has been taken of their presence in Cyprus to assist in the work of the Institute. They were usually employed in seminars specially designed for the staff of the Institute, and as lecturers in short and long courses for serving teachers that were either already in progress or specially inaugurated. Each foreign expert posted to the Institute was assigned a member of staff as counterpart, who was usually of the same specialisation. Together they worked out the details of new courses and lectured to the teachers attending such courses. Language has not been a major problem because most teachers understand English fairly well; in addition, the counterpart used to prepare a summary of each lecture in Greek that was distributed to the participants. All members of staff could gain some benefit from the presence of a foreign educational expert at the Institute, and the counterpart was initiated into the content and method of work of a course which he was expected to repeat in the following years. In some cases it was also possible for the counterpart to visit the institution from which the foreign lecturer came, and thereby receive further training.[79]

The teachers welcomed the participation of foreign lecturers in the in-service training courses of the Paedagogical Institute. This became abundantly clear in a survey, carried out by the author and a foreign educational consultant in 1980, on their attitudes to in-service training. All the respondents in that survey, or more precisely 95 per cent of them, thought that foreign experts should teach in the courses offered by the Paedagogical Institute, side by side with its local staff. The reason is not far to seek. They consider that lecturing by foreign experts raises the standard of the seminars, that they receive valuable information on educational

innovation from overseas, and that certificates issued to them for attendance of such courses would be recognised by foreign universities.[80]

The duration of the stay of foreign lecturers assigned to the Institute varied. Most of the Fullbright professors stayed for a year with the Institute. British lecturers stayed for a few weeks to a few months, although those for English and Science remained several years. The German experts were usually posted with the Institute for four weeks, but one of them was assigned for a continuous period of four years.[81] In many cases these foreign consultants brought with them, as a part of their mission, teaching materials which, after being used in seminars and workshops, were donated to the Institute or distributed to schools. Foreign aid also included the award of scholarships, either to the general pool of teachers or specifically to the staff of the Institute.

The most sustained and perhaps the most productive technical aid to the Paedagogical Institute was provided by the German Agency for Technical Co-operation (GTZ). It was the result of a six-year co-operation project called "Advisory Assistance in Connection with the Development of the Paedagogical Institute".[82] In summer 1978 the Ministry of Education submitted a proposal to the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany asking for co-operation with a German Institution and for advisory assistance for the development of the Paedagogical Institute. The request was approved by the German Government in principle and passed to the German Agency for Technical Co-operation (GTZ) for a feasibility study. They sent a team of experts to Cyprus,and together with the Director of the Institute they elaborated a detailed plan for co-operation and advisory assistance to the Institute, which later took the form of an agreement between the

Governments of Cyprus and Germany.[83]

The two major aims of the agreement were the development of the staff of the Paedagogical Institute and the development of the courses offered by the Institute. To achieve this the German Agency for Technical Co-operation (GTZ) was to send a long-term project co-ordinator, specialist on educational planning and in-service training, and a series of short-time lecturers; to supply the Institute with modern teaching equipment; and to provide scholarships and educational visits for members of staff to the Federal Republic of Germany and/or other European countries. The Government of Cyprus was to grant a rent allowance to the project co-ordinator, provide the necessary office accommodation and make provisions for the smooth and prompt execution of the project.[84] Dr. Ulf Metzger was assigned by the GTZ as project co-ordinator and he arrived in Cyprus in January 1980. The author of this thesis was charged with the duties of counterpart, especially in connection with a survey of the in-service training needs of teachers in Cyprus.

Such a survey was considered indispensable for the project in order to plan future in-service training activities and to invite the appropriate lecturers from Germany. The survey was carried out by Dr. Metzger and the author of this thesis and its results have been published jointly in book form under the title "In-service Training of Teachers in Cyprus".[85] Nearly 400 teachers were interviewed and this gave the chance to the author to sample the views of a wide cross-section of the teacher population and to identify significant issues in the whole spectrum of the education and professional development of teachers in Cyprus. These issues - listed in the introduction of this thesis - became the focus of further analysis both historically and empirically in the present thesis.

The survey took twelve months to be completed and published, but its findings have swiftly been put into effect as far as the provision of short courses was concerned. Over the first four years of the co-operation project a total of 22 short-time lecturers from Germany came to the Paedagogical Institute under the auspices of the co-operation project.[86] They included Professor Wolfgang Mitter, director of the German Institute for International Educational Research, professors and lecturers from the University of Heidelberg, and specialists on technical education from other German institutions. These lecturers conducted seminars for the staff of the Paedagogical Institute, sometimes attended by the inspectorate, and courses for the teachers. The main subjects of the courses were: Models of Teaching; Comparative Education; Educational Reforms; Teacher Education; Librarianship; Curriculum Development; Colour Television; Car Electrics; Welding; and School Administration.[87] Each course was followed by a booklet, prepared by the lecturer and his counterpart, that was published by the Paedagogical Institute and made available to the teachers at cost price. Publishing such material became feasible after the German Agency for Technical Co-operation (GTZ) provided the Institute with a printing unit.

Dr. Metzger himself undertook two important seminars for the staff which were longitudinal in character: The training of staff (a) in microteaching techniques, and (b) in research methods. For the latter, a two-year research project was initiated on the "Socialisation of Adolescents in Cyprus". All the staff of the Institute took part in that research activity and a book under that title has been published by the Institute.[88] The data for this and other research studies of the Institute were analysed by some of the researchers at the Computer Centre of the University of Heidelberg. A special agreement had been

signed between that University and the Institute under the auspices of the co-operation project.

What makes the technical assistance provided by the German Agency for Technical Co-operation (GTZ) so different from that provided by other countries is not the range or number of short or long courses provided. It is that it was based on the evaluation of the needs of the teachers, and above all on the support facilities available to the project. Under the agreement the Institute was provided with valuable equipment. One can only list the most important here: A complete printing unit with a capacity of 8,000 copies per hour; two complete microteaching sets, including cameras and video units; two cars, of which one is a van, and is used as a mobile library and for carrying equipment from the Institute to other in-service training centres; a photocopier, an IBM typewriter and other office equipment.[89]

The other noteworthy aspect of the technical assistance supplied by the German Agency for Technical Co-operation was that the project provided 19 scholarships and educational visits to Germany for members of staff of the Institute. Six of them were of one year duration while the rest were of about one month each. Almost all members of staff took advantage of that scheme.[90]

The project was originally designed for two years (1980 and 1981). It was later extended for another two years (1982 and 1983). After the departure of Dr. Metzger it was extended for further two-years (1984 and 1985) to provide a follow-up for some more short-time lecturers and some more educational visits for the staff. The project has been described in some detail in order to highlight the fact that any aid simply providing lecturers from overseas does not have a lasting effect. It must also train the local staff both locally and overseas and provide support facilities both for the project and for

the continuation of the activities initiated by it.

9.6 Problems and Prospects

While foreign technical aid was a stimulant for the work of the Paedagogical Institute, other factors were a hindrance to its proper functioning. In spite of the fact that the establishment of the Paedagogical Institute was the common desire of the Ministry of Education and the teachers' unions, its functions have not been adequately supported by the Ministry, and in many cases they have been undermined by the unions.[91]

A major problem of the Paedagogical Institute has been the status of its staff. All members of staff, except its Director, have been posted to the Institute by annual secondment. Secondment was at their previous salary, and at the Institute they often have to teach in courses/seminars held in the afternoon or in vacation time, an obligation which they do not have in school. Secondment can be terminated at any time either by the Educational Authorities or at the initiative of the seconded staff themselves. Seconded staff are often transferred back to schools either because they are promoted or because they themselves ask to be transferred, after realising that by staying with the Institute they forfeit their chances of promotion. The result of this situation is the frustration of the seconded staff, the unwillingness of able staff to prolong their secondment, and the never-ending task of the Director in helping newly-seconded staff. The situation makes real planning by the Director of the Paedagogical Institute impossible.[92] In an interview given to the author, the Director of the Institute stressed the disadvantages of the secondment system in the following way:

> "The first problem of the Institute is the status of its staff. All staff, except its Director, are on a yearly secondment. The staff turnover is so high that this year [1982] 49 per cent of the teaching staff have been replaced by newcomers. In this way the Director cannot plan the work of the Institute properly and there is no continuity. A lecturer teaching at the Institute requires a lot of preparation and experience to be accepted by the teachers. It takes at least two years to get used to this kind of work and to become really productive. Some of our courses and research activities had to be abandoned in the past because our staff were transferred or promoted in the meantime. The seconded staff, although usually dedicated people, feel insecure and frustrated and sometimes want to leave. They do so anyway if they are promoted to the post of school principal."[93]

Another problem, even more difficult than the problem of tenure of staff, has been the attitude of the teachers' union to in-service training.[94] The unions do not accept that teachers have any moral responsibility to attend in-service-training activities during their free time, and they discourage their members from doing so. In many cases the unions used their non-attendance policy for in-service training as a way of putting pressure on their employer with respect to salary scales and other benefits. The unions also demand that the Institute should be governed by an Executive Council on which they want to have a strong voice, and in 1976 they put an "embargo" on the activities of the Institute because, they alleged, they were not properly consulted.

These are the basic problems which the new Department of Higher Education, under which the Institute now comes, has to solve, if the Institute is to function effectively.[95] They have been included in the survey of the attitudes of serving teachers to their professional development and they are analysed in Chapter 15. They were also included in the interviews with the union officials, the chief inspectors and the Director-General of the Ministry of Education (see Chapter 16). Further discussion on these issues is, therefore, reserved for later chapters.

CHAPTER 10

THE PROFESSIONAL STATUS OF TEACHERS (1960-1985)

The previous two chapters were concerned with the consolidation and reform of the Institutions involved in the pre-service and in-service education and training of teachers in independent Cyprus. This chapter is concerned with the professional development of teachers, as improvement of their status. The term "professional status of teachers" is used throughout this thesis as an umbrella term to denote such items as tenure, salaries, social prestige, promotion prospects, administration and control of teachers, relations with employers and superiors, and generally those aspects of their profession which have the connotation of teachers as workers who have to earn a living.[1*] This chapter is also concerned with the structure, administration, and growth of the school system in independent Cyprus, in order to explain the formal relations of teachers with their employers and their superiors and to give the necessary background information for the issues examined in the empirical part of the thesis (Part Three).

10.1 The Teachers Under the Greek Communal Chamber (1960-1965)

The Zurich and London Agreements on the future of Cyprus were essentially a settlement imposed on the Cypriots by Great Britain, Greece, and Turkey (see Chapter 7). The Cyprus Constitution, which was based on these Agreements, was made sharply bicommunal in character in order to protect the rights of the Turkish minority. It provided for two Communal Chambers, one for the Greek Cypriots and one for the

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*Notes and references to this chapter start on page 896.

Turkish Cypriots, each to be elected separately by its own community and to have exclusive legislative competence on religious, educational, cultural and generally communal matters (see Appendix B.10). Education was, therefore, conceived in the Constitution in a very narrow sense as the transmission of communal values, and as a strictly communal concern rather than a state responsibility.[2]

10.1.1 Administration of Education

For the transitional period leading to the proclamation of independence in August 1960, the British Governor of Cyprus enacted "The Greek Cypriot Education (Transitional Arrangements) Law of 1959" (Law 19/1959), by which the administration of Greek Cypriot education was transferred to a "Greek Board of Education", established under that law.[3] Similar arrangements were made for the Turkish Cypriots. Under the provisions of that law, the Greek Board of Education became the central authority for all matters relating to elementary, secondary and teacher education. Dr. Constantinos Spyridakis, headmaster of the Pancyprian Gymnasium and leader of the Greek "educational opposition" during the last 20 years of the Colonial Administration, was appointed chairman of the Greek Board of Education. The Board took over control of the Greek part of what was before the Department of Education, reorganised its services, and by a series of measures promoted and strengthened the educational and cultural links between Cyprus and Greece.[4] As regards teacher education, the Board changed the name of the Teachers' Training College to "Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus" and modelled it on those functioning in Greece. A new syllabus for the Academy was drafted, so as to conform closely to that followed by the Greek Paedagogical Academies; its staff was reinforced with lecturers

who had post-graduate training in European and American universities; and only graduates from six-year gymnasia were allowed to take the entrance examinations of the Academy.[5]

In August 1960 the responsibilities of the Greek Board of Education were transferred to the Greek Communal Chamber, as provided by the Cyprus Constitution. The Chamber was an elected body and had legislative and executive powers over communal matters, including education. To exercise their executive powers, they passed "The Selection and Administration Committee Law of 1960" (Law 2/1960) and "The Competencies of the Sub-committees of the Greek Communal Chamber, and the Exercise of These Competencies Law of 1960" (Law 3/1960). Under the provisions of the first law, they established a "Selection and Administration Committee" made up of the President and the Vice-president of the Chamber as ex-officio members, and five other members selected by the Chamber from among their own body. It was to be the highest administrative organ of the Chamber and it was vested with executive power to carry out the decisions of the Chamber. As provided in the second law, several sub-committees were established under the "Selection and Administration Committee" in order to co-ordinate the respective administrative functions. One of these sub-committees was the "Sub-committee on Education". Dr Spyridakis was elected member of the Greek Communal Chamber, became its president and the ex-officio president of the powerful "Selection and Administration Committee". He was in all but in name the Minister of Education.[6]

Under the provisions of a further law, "The Organisation of the Office of Education Law of 1960" (Law 7/1960), passed by the Chamber, they organised an "Office of Greek Education" and appointed its Director and the rest of its functionaries and staff. Under the Director came several "Departments" and "Services". "Primary

Education" and "Secondary General and Higher Education" were each headed by a Head of Department, but "Technical, Vocational and Agricultural Education" was ascribed lower status and was headed by a Chief Officer. Within the Office of Greek Education, three administrative committees were established: (a) an "Appointments, Promotions and Transfers Committee", to exercise those functions as regards teachers and inspectors at all levels of education; (b) a "Disciplinary Board", to examine disciplinary offences that might have been committed by teachers and inspectors and to impose penalties; and (c) a "Revisions Committee", to examine and decide appeals by teachers and inspectors against decisions taken by the other two administrative committees.[7]

Under the provisions of another law, "The Secondary Education Amendment Law of 1960" (Law 5/1960), passed by the Communal Chamber, the members of all the existing School Committees were dismissed and new School Committees were appointed by the Chamber. Their duties were defined in that law to be related to school buildings and furniture if concerned with primary schools, and if concerned with secondary schools to be the appointment and dismissal of teachers, the collection of school fees and the payment of teachers' salaries, and generally the administration of the affairs of the schools.[8] Less than two years later, however, by "The Organisation of Primary and Secondary Education Amendment Law of 1962" (Law 7/1962) the Chamber stripped the School Committees of most of their powers concerning secondary education and left them with only subsidiary functions.[9]

In that way centralisation became complete in both primary and secondary education. Spyridakis adopted a system of "delegation of power from one central authority".[10] Despite his pronouncements during colonial times against centralised control, not only did he retain the

centralised administration of primary education, but he extended it to secondary education. As explained in a publication of the Greek Communal Chamber, nothing short of a centralised authority could bring "the hitherto disorganised educational system into a definite form."[11] To this end the Chamber "bought" the assets of most private secondary schools and thereby took control of them as from September 1961.

10.1.2 Legal Position of the Teachers

In the new situation the legal position of primary and secondary school teachers was finally decided in detail through "The Teachers of Primary Communal Schools Law of 1963" (Law 7/1963)[12] and "The Teachers of Secondary Communal Schools Law of 1963" (Law 10/1963) respectively.[13] The main provisions of these laws, which were very similar to each other, were as follows:

The number of permanent posts for primary school teachers and headmasters was to be defined annually in the budget of the Greek Communal Chamber. The academic qualifications for appointment of a primary school teacher on probation were to be a leaving certificate from a six-year Greek secondary school and a diploma from a Teachers' Training College or Paedagogical Academy. Vacant permanent teaching posts were to be advertised in the daily press and those interested had to apply accordingly. Every primary school teacher had to serve a probationary period of two years before his appointment was confirmed. A primary school teacher holding a permanent post was to be paid according to a salary scale and to receive the respective annual increments on that pay scale if his service was reported to be satisfactory. After at least ten years of service, a primary school teacher might be promoted to "Headmaster grade B", and after at least

another four years to "Headmaster grade A"; only if there was a vacancy was a promotion to be made.[14]

Every primary school teacher and headmaster was to be subject to transfer at any time, according to the needs of the service; after five years of service in a certain school, a teacher would normally be transferred to another school. Each teacher had to teach the forms and classes assigned to him by the headmaster of the school, and to take part in all the activities of the school. Teachers and headmasters were required to reside in the community to which they had been posted, unless serious reasons rendered this difficult.[15]

No primary school teacher or headmaster was to give private tuition or to involve himself in any business for profit, without the prior written permission of the Director of the Office of Greek Education. Leave of absence with pay was to be granted to teachers for up to 14 days, sick leave with pay for up to 42 days, and maternity leave with half pay during term time for 8 weeks. Study leave was to be granted according to further regulatiions to be approved by the Chamber. A teacher or headmaster could be dismissed or otherwise penalised if found guilty of certain offences.[16] By transitional provisions of the law the position of all primary school teachers and headmasters already in service was to be defined and their placement on the respective salary scales was to be decided. A teacher's salary was to be made up of a basic salary and a cost of living allowance. There was to be a salary scale for ordinary teachers, a higher salary scale for headmasters grade B and a still higher one for headmasters grade A.[17]

Similar provisions were made in "The Teachers of Secondary Communal Schools Law of 1963" (law 10/1963). However, since the qualifications of the secondary school teachers varied, they were to be

classified into four classes carrying with them different salary scales. Those with a university degree or degree-equivalent qualification, obtained after attending a four-year course, were to be classified as "secondary school masters grade A"; those with a diploma from a three-year course were to be classified as "secondary school masters grade B", and those with a diploma from a two-year post-secondary course as "secondary school masters grade C". Technical teachers were classified higher than academic secondary school teachers in order to attract such qualified people to technical education. Those with a university degree in Engineering were placed on a scale higher than secondary school masters grade A and were called "technologists"; similarly those with a diploma/certificate from a three-year post-secondary course were classified as "instructors grade A", and placed on the same pay scale as secondary academic school masters grade A, and so on.[18]

Besides a qualification in a particular subject, all secondary school teachers were required to have paedagogical training; this could be either a self-contained course of at least one academic year, or attendance at some educational courses as part of their degree, diploma or certificate. However, those who did not have either the consecutive or the concurrent type of paedagogical training just stipulated, could still be appointed on probation, but before their appointment was to be confirmed they had to attend a series of in-service training lectures on educational subjects, organised by the Greek Office of Education. From this provision arose the need for an In-service Training Agency, which led to the establishment of the Paedagogical Institute in 1975.[19]

To the staff seconded to the Paedagogical Academy, a fixed sum amounting to 10 per cent of their salaries was to be paid as an

additional allowance, as provided by the same law.[20] For the students of the Paedagogical Academy, as well as for serving teachers selected to attend a further course abroad, the award of scholarships was regulated through another law, "The Scholarships Law of 1961" (Law 13/1961).[21] Administrative procedures concerning appointments, promotions, transfers, disciplinary and revisional matters with respect to teachers and inspectors and other communal employees were further regulated through "The Teachers and Employees of Primary and Secondary Communal Schools (Exercise of Administrative Competencies) Law of 1963" (Law 8/1963).[22] Finally some control over those private secondary schools, which did not agree to sell their assets to the Chamber and therefore become communal, was attempted through the "Private Schools Law of 1962" (Law 16/1962).[23]

10.1.3 Emergence of Basic Teachers' Demands

From the very beginning the Greek Communal Chamber ran into financial and functional difficulties. Under the provisions of the Constitution, the Chamber was to be allocated annually by the House of Representatives, a fixed amount of money, not less than £1,600,000 from the state budget.[24] This amount could be increased, but the procedure was complicated and inefficient. The Chamber had functionally no links with the Government regarding policies, planning and implementation procedures; yet it was responsible for the "production" of the manpower that was needed by the new development projects promoted by the Government. In effect education was outside the sphere of the economic and social policies of the Government, yet it was supposed to support it financially. No wonder then that the procedures for increasing the funds allocated to the Chamber were complicated and inefficient. There was, however, another way open to the Chamber to raise further funds:

by imposing "personal taxes and fees".[25] But such a taxation would have been very unpopular and reminiscent of the early years of the twentieth century when the Greek Cypriots asked the Colonial Government to abolish personal contributions, called "school fees", and to subsidise the primary schools of the island from the central Government revenue. That demand led to the Talbot and Cape Report in 1913 and eventually to the take over of primary education by the Government.

The teachers themselves were very conscious of the fruits of national independence and they tried to establish for themselves rights and status. There were then three teachers' unions: The Primary School Teachers' Union (POED), the Secondary General Teachers' Union (OELMEK), and the Secondary Technical Teachers' Union (OLTEK). In the first three years of independence (1961 to 1963) there was much trade union activity by the teachers, and numerous negotiations between their unions and the Greek Communal Chamber on many issues which were essentially economic demands. These demands increased the financial difficulties of the Chamber. In addition the number of pupils and teachers was increasing both in primary and secondary education. In the first three years of independence the average annual increase in the number of teachers was almost five per cent. This also increased the financial difficulties of the Chamber.[26]

From the minutes of the meetings of the Central Administrative Councils of the teachers' unions, it is clear that as early as 1961 the Secondary General Teachers' Union aspired to the salaries enjoyed by civil servants with equal academic qualifications as their members.[27] The Secondary Technical Teachers' Union agreed with their colleagues in secondary general education, but they were more concerned with the placement of their members on grades higher than their academic qualifications would entitle them as secondary

school teachers, arguing that the market value of their qualifications was higher in industry and that most of them had industrial experience. To a certain extent the latter were successful in promoting these demands, although they did not achieve complete parity with comparable civil service posts. The Primary School Teachers' Union aspired to the same pay scales as secondary general school teachers grade B, i.e. teachers who had followed a three-year post-secondary course.[28] They claimed that their attendance at in-service summer courses which started in the early 1950's could be counted as a year additional to their normal two-year course at the Teachers' Training Colleges or the Paedagogical Academy. They also put forward the suggestion that the course at the Academy should be lengthened to three years, just as was already done in England.[29]

It took the teachers' unions twenty years (1961 to 1981) to achieve those targets. The Greek Communal Chamber was not financially able to meet the demands of the teachers' unions, nor to offer the security accorded by the Government to its civil servants. They were not even able to steer a coherent policy on union demands. Allegedly, there were cases when Dr. Spyridakis or the "Sub-committee on Education" had accepted certain demands of the unions but the Chamber, as the final authority, turned them down. Originally they preferred to give legal sanction to their decisions through Regulations, made by the "Selection and Administration Committee", on such matters as teachers' qualifications and salaries, because it was easier for them to change them.[30] In 1963 all these regulations were codified into two laws, "The Teachers of Primary Communal Schools Law of 1963" (Law 7/1963) and "The Teachers of Secondary Communal Schools Law of 1963" (Law 10/1963). But they also took the chance to reduce the starting salary of all new teachers by two increments.[31] This did not help relations with the

unions. Under the provisions of these laws, the primary school teachers were placed on the same pay scale as secondary school teachers grade C, i.e. those who had followed a two-year post-secondary course, and secondary general school teachers grade A, i.e. those with a university degree, were placed on a pay scale lower than those of most graduates in the civil service. The 1963 salary scales for teachers are listed in Appendix B.11.

It seems that Spyridakis and his Chamber used the number of years of a course of study as the sole criterion for placing a teacher on a pay scale. This was soon realised by the Primary School Teachers' Union, and they demanded that the duration of the course at the Paedagogical Academy be extended from two to three years. But the Educational Authorities who applied the laws of 1963 relating to salary scales of teachers carried the above principle to its extreme. In September 1963 the holders of a B.A. or B.Sc. degree from a British university - where a first degree takes three years to complete - were placed on the salary scale for grade B secondary school teachers. The Secondary General School Teachers' Union referred the matter to Unesco, who testified the quality of British degrees, and thereafter the Educational Authorities placed those teachers on the proper scale.[32] By contrast, the Public Service Commission which was responsible for the appointment and promotion of civil servants usually considered British first degrees as of higher quality than those from Greece and indeed from most other countries.

The demands of the teachers' unions concerning salary scales were not satisfied by the Chamber in 1963, supposedly because of its financial difficulties. But the Chamber was also not very understanding on other minor issues which affected small numbers of teachers. In the period 1960 to 1963 the Primary School Teachers'

Union demanded, for example, that those primary school mistresses who were holding an appointment "on contract" be transferred to permanent posts. These mistresses were originally appointed to permanent posts during the Colonial Administration, but became temporary after marriage. Similarly the Secondary General Teachers' Union demanded that the schoolmistresses for the subject of Home Economics, who had usually (but not always) followed a three-year course, be placed on the same salary scale as secondary school teachers grade B. Neither demand was granted by the Chamber.[33]

There was, however, another demand which affected all teachers, united them at all levels and at all grades and led to a head-on-clash with Dr. Spyridakis and the Greek Communal Chamber. This was the demand for a pension scheme. During the Colonial Administration primary school teachers enjoyed (as a result of the Elementary Education Amendment Law of 1944) a generous pension scheme, just as other civil servants did. Secondary school teachers were not civil servants, except those few who served in Government-controlled secondary (mostly technical) schools. But those who were graduates of Greek universities were entitled to a pension from the Greek Government for their years of service in secondary schools which followed a curriculum approved by the Greek Ministry of Education. The Greek Communal Chamber offered to the teachers in 1963 a scheme of gratuities, for which they were themselves required to supply 5 per cent of their monthly salary. The Chamber was to supply another 5 per cent, and on retirement a teacher was to receive his total sum plus interest.[34]

The teachers' unions formed a "Common Committee" and convened a Common General Meeting on 27th October, 1963, to discuss a proposal for strike action. The teachers decided to go on an

"indefinite strike" as from 4 November 1963.[35] The strike was almost universal. After 10 days it was called off by the unions following a request from the President of the Republic, Archbishop Makarios, suggesting negotiations on the demand for a pension scheme.[36] Negotiations did start, but they made little progress. In late December 1963 the Turkish Cypriots started an armed intercommunal conflict (see Chapter 7), and trade union demands were naturally set aside.

10.2 The Teachers under the Ministry of Education

In March 1965 the Greek Communal Chamber, acting within the provisions of the Constitution, decided to dissolve itself, and asked the House of Representatives and the Government to take over the competencies ascribed to it by the Cyprus Constitution.[37] It was believed that this course of action would strengthen the Government, especially after the Turkish Cypriots left the Council of Ministers, the House of Representatives, and the Civil Service and withdrew into their enclaves. It was also a convenient solution to the chronic financial problems of the Chamber. The teachers welcomed the change in the hope that under the new arrangement they might achieve civil servant status. The take-over was carried out after the House of Representatives passed "The Transfer of Exercise of Competencies of the Greek Communal Chamber and the Ministry of Education Law of 1965" (Law 12/1965).[38] According to that law the legislative competencies of the Greek Communal Chamber were transferred to the House of Representatives, its administrative competencies concerning "educational cultural and teaching matters" to a new ministry, the Ministry of Education, and the rest of its administrative competencies to other Ministries.[39] Dr. Spyridakis was appointed Minister of

Education.

10.2.1 The New Legal Position of the Teachers

In the new situation the Ministry of Education was just another Ministry. However, the teachers did not become civil servants in the legal sense of the word. To define their legal status separate legislation was gradually enacted and many of its provisions were similar to those for civil servants. As was the case under the Greek Communal Chamber, pre-primary and primary school teachers and headmasters were called in that legislation with the humble name of "teachers", while secondary school teachers and headmasters were called "professors".[40] Primary school teachers resented this distinction, which had been there from time immemorial in both the Greek and the Greek Cypriot educational systems. But the distinction is not one of name only. It reflects differences in salaries, social prestige and pre-service preparation in subject-matter and paedagogical studies.

Under the Ministry of Education, the educational system continued to be fully centralised. As provided in the law establishing the Ministry (Law 12/1965), the highest authority in educational policy-making matters was the Council of Ministers, acting of course on the advice of the Minister of Education. He was, of course, the head of his Ministry, and was to have responsibility for the enforcement of educational laws, and for the issue of any circulars or directions relating to their implementation. The Ministry's high officials were to remain as under the Communal Chamber, except if the Council of Ministers decided otherwise.[41] An example of such a change by the Council of Ministers was the elevation of the post of Chief Officer in charge of "Technical, Vocational and Agricultural Education" to that of

Head of Department. This was an indication of the importance attached to this branch of education by the Government.

Law 12/1965 also provided for the establishment of an "Educational Service Commission", whose functions were to be the appointments, transfers, secondments, promotion and disciplinary censure or dismissal of teachers and inspectors. The Commission was to be made up of five members, of whom three were to be appointed by the President of the Republic and two were to be ex-officio members. The ex-officio members were to be the Head of the Personnel Department of the Government and, according to the teacher or inspector whose case was to be examined at a given meeting of the Commission, the Chief Officer of the Department under which he was serving. One of the members of the Commission was to be a lawyer and the President of the Republic was to appoint one of the appointed members to be its Chairman. The Commission was to prepare and approve regulations governing its procedures and deliberations.[42]

These arrangements remained in force until 1969, when it became evident that the composition of the Commission was unconstitutional in that the Heads of Department as members of the Commission had administrative and at the same time judicial (disciplinary) powers over their subordinates. As a result a new law, "The Public Educational Service Law of 1969" (Law 10/1969), was enacted, which provided that all members of the Commission were to be appointed by the President of the Republic. Their term of office was to be three years, and they could not hold any other office whatsoever. In that way, it was hoped, the independence of the Commission would be assured. Senior officers of the Ministry, such as Heads of Department, could be asked by the Comission to be present at their meetings in an advisory capacity. The functions of the Commission under the new law

remained substantially the same as before. In carrying out their functions, the Commission was not to proceed on any matter concerning teachers or inspectors unless it had a written request from the Minister of Education, usually acting through the Director General of the Ministry, for a decision within the Commission's terms of reference.[43]

10.2.2 Establishment of a Mechanism for Negotiations

The intercommunal troubles that started in December 1963 continued intermittently for several years. By mid-1968, after a series of normalisation measures introduced by the Government, intercommunal talks began (see Chapter 7). The gradual return to normality and the upturn of the Cyprus economy during those years allowed the Government some freedom to deal with social problems, including the demands of teachers.

For orderly labour negotiations, it was agreed in 1967 that a certain procedure should be followed. A "Joint Committee on Staff Matters of the Educational Service" (MEPEY) was first established. Its membership and functions were agreed upon between the Government and the teachers' unions and received administrative sanction by a decision of the Council of Ministers on 1st June, 1967. It was to be composed of representatives from the teachers' unions and representatives from the Ministries of Education and Finance and from other Ministries or Departments, according to the subject of its deliberations in each case. It was to be presided over by a senior Government official, usually the Director General of either the Ministry of Finance or Education. The main function of the Joint Committee on Staff Matters of the Educational Service was to be the consultation between the

Government and the three teachers' unions on the "conditions of work of the Educational Service with a view to increased efficiency and co-operation."[44]

It must be noted that this arrangement suited everybody. It was an official channel for communication between the Government and the teachers' unions and had a technocratic aura in that it was a forum for supposedly in-depth study of educational problems and teachers' demands. But in point of fact the employer always placed more emphasis on the objective of "increased efficiency" while the unions placed more emphasis on the objective of improved "conditions of work". In the general framework of the terms of reference of the Joint Committee on Staff Matters of the Educational Service either side could raise any matter, including union demands on pay and conditions of service, and where possible such demands could be negotiated and settled. If a disagreement arose at this stage of the negotiations, the unions could refer it to a second stage: to a Ministerial Committee, which was to include the Minister of Education and usually presided by the Minister of Finance, for further negotiations. If those negotiations failed, the demand could be referred by the unions to the President of the Republic for another round of talks. If all three stages of negotiations failed to produce a satisfactory compromise for the unions, they could then register with the Ministry of Labour and Social Security an "official labour dispute" and take whatever lawful measures they thought fit, including strike action.

It must be also noted that a similar joint staff committee was set up for negotiations between the Government and the "Civil Servants' Union" (PASYDY), and all three stages of negotiations applied to them as well. There were instances when there was a close co-operation between the primary and secondary school teachers' unions as

well as between them and the Civil Servants' Union on common demands, such as pensions and income tax issues. But there were also cases when their interests were in conflict, and this was obviously exploited by the Government for negotiation purposes. Certainly the Civil Servants' Union was the strongest union, because it controlled vital parts of the Government machine, such as those earning state revenue.

10.2.3 Teachers' Pensions

The issue of pensions and gratuities of teachers was settled in 1967, after long negotiation between the teachers' unions and the Government, by the enactment of legislation similar to that for civil servants, although not fully satisfactory to the teachers. It was given some priority over other problems as it had been the basic demand of teachers that led to the deterioration of the already strained relations between the teachers' unions and the Greek Communal Chamber and to the 10-day strike of November 1963. Since 1944 primary school teachers were entitled, according to the Elementary Education Amendment Laws of 1944 and 1947, to a pension on retirement at the age of 55. They could receive the maximum pension of two thirds of their highest salary after having served for at least 33 years and eight months.[45] Similar provisions were in force for civil servants, while there was no provision for pensioning secondary school teachers except those very few who were employed in government-controlled secondary schools.[46]

The teachers demanded that their age of retirement should be raised to 60. The Government accepted this demand, but at the same time increased the number of years of service required for maximum pension to 36 years and eight months for all public employees, including teachers. According to the provisions of the pension laws

for teachers, passed in 1967, i.e. "The Secondary School Teachers' Pensions Law of 1967" (56/1967) and "The Primary Education Amendment Law of 1967" (19/1967), a teacher with at least 10 years of service was entitled on retirement to a pension at a rate of one 660th of his salary for each complete month of service. The maximum amount of pension was to be two thirds of the highest salary drawn by him at any time in the course of his service, and to draw that pension he should have completed 440 months, i.e. 36 years and eight months, of service. Previous service under the Greek Communal Chamber or during the colonial times was to be recognised for pension purposes. Those with less than 10 years of teaching service were to receive a gratuity, commensurate with their years of service. The two laws also provided that a teacher could exercise at any time before retirement the option to receive only three quarters of his calculated pension together with a gratuity on the date of retirement, such gratuity being equal to twelve and a half times the amount of reduction made in that way in his pension. If a teacher died either before or after retirement a proportion of the pension otherwise payable to him at that time was to be paid to his widow and his under-aged children.[47]

It must be noted that the legislation for pensioning teachers, just as for other Government employees, provided that all calculations of pensions would be based on the basic salary of a teacher, and would not include the "cost of living allowance".[48] Over the years the allowance for the cost of living tended to rise, while the buying value of pensions tended to diminish as it was a fixed amount calculated on the basic salary at the time of retirement. The unions were quick to raise this point with the Government, and legislation was passed in 1973 to authorise the Council of Ministers to include at regular intervals major parts of the cost of living

allowance with the basic salary of teachers for pension purposes.[49] Another demand of the unions concerning pensions has been the possibility of early voluntary retirement. This demand was satisfied in 1981 by amending the respective pensions laws for all Government employees. According to those amendments a teacher could apply to retire at any time after attaining the age of 45. If his application was accepted by the Authorities his pension was consolidated and paid to him on reaching the age of 55, on exactly the same terms as otherwise provided by the legislation. If a teacher applies to resign before reaching the age of 45, and his application is accepted by the Authorities, he is entitled to a gratuity commensurate with the number of his years of service. All these rights are, however, counterbalanced by the right of the Council of Ministers to order the retirement of a teacher at any time during his last five years of service, i.e. between the age of 55 and 60.[50] This is obviously a serious disadvantage.

10.2.4 Teachers' Salaries

The other major concern of all teachers, has been their salary scales. As stated earlier, secondary school teachers aspired to the pay scales enjoyed by civil servants with equal qualifications, while primary school teachers set their objective on placement on the same pay scales as secondary school teachers grade B, i.e. those who had followed a three-year sub-university course. In 1963 neither the secondary nor the primary school teachers were placed on the desired scales supposedly because of the economic difficulties of the Greek Communal Chamber. As the political and economic situation of the island improved a few years after the intercommunal strife of 1964,

especially after mid-1968, the teachers revived their demands for improvement of their economic status with their new employer, the Cyprus Government.

The demand for improved salaries was put to the Government in 1967 both by the teachers and by the other state employees. The demand was accepted in principle by the Government and was referred to a "study group" in order to work out the necessary details. The proposals of the Government were submitted to the unions after one year in the form of revised salary scales, which were higher at the top than those in force by about 18 per cent, for all employees.[51] The teachers were not satisfied, especially those in primary education. The latter went on a four-day strike in May 1968, and proclaimed "educational disobedience" and "work to rule". Their union banned all out-of-school activities including participation in in-service training courses.[52] The new salary scales, as finally approved by the House of Representatives in November 1968, provided for improved salary scales amounting to an average increase of 18 per cent across the board. But salary increases were not to be effected at a stroke; a teacher was to be placed on a point on the new pay scale equal to his emoluments at that time, so that the full effect of the increase in salary was achieved only after several years.[53]

An innovation was also introduced by the new pay scales. According to "The Educational Service (Restructure and Salaries) Law of 1968" (Law 121/1968), a teacher was to be first appointed to a "first entry post" having regard to his academic qualifications; after at least seven years on the pay scale of his first entry post, he could be promoted to a "promotion post without administrative duties" on a higher salary scale. The law provided for "first entry posts" and "promotion posts without administrative duties" at the ratio of 3:1.

This meant that the number of teachers who were to be promoted to "promotion posts without administrative duties" each year were to be such as to achieve that proportion, and new openings were to be created only if there was an increase in the number of newly appointed teacher or further promotions in the hierarchy, such as to the post of assistant headmaster.[54] The teachers unions did not like this restriction and they managed to persuade the Government to abolish it, through "The Educational Service (Restructure and Salaries) Amendment Law of 1969" (Law 62/1969). In that way the pay scale for the "first entry post" and the pay scale for the "promotion post without administrative duties" for a given teacher became in effect a combined scale, if his service was satisfactory.[55]

The net result of the 1968 revision of salaries was an increase of salaries of about 18 per cent across the board to be achieved after several years. The important thing is that there was no essential change in internal relativities between the pay scales of the employees of the Government. Secondary school teachers remained on pay scales lower than those for civil servants with equal qualifications. Ordinary primary school teachers were placed on the same entry scale as secondary school teachers grade C, and their promotion pay scale without administrative duties was the same as the entry scale of secondary school teachers grade B. It must be noted that up to 1965 the course at the Paedagogical Academy was a two-year course and the first graduates from its three-year course were appointed in September 1968. For this reason they were placed on the same scale as secondary school teachers grade C, although their demand was for the pay scale for secondary school teachers grade B.[56] The 1968 pay scales for teachers are listed in Appendix B.12. In 1971 another demand of teachers and indeed of all Government employees was satisfied, if only

by stages over a period of three years. It was the "13th salary", i.e. an additional monthly salary at Christmas.[57]

The demands of teachers for increased salaries led to the need for some kind of evaluation. On the day of the enactment of the law of 1968 for revision of the teachers' salaries (21st November, 1968), the President of the House of Representatives, Mr. Glafkos Clerides, suggested that an evaluation of the work of the teachers by an expert should be carried out with a view to future revision of salaries.[58] This suggestion was taken up by both the unions and the Government, but each of them saw the exercise from a different angle. The Government saw it as a chance for restructuring both the Civil and the Educational Services with a view to increased efficiency; the unions saw it as a chance to press for higher salaries. The Government invited a British expert, Mr. Allingham, to advise her, and at a later stage set up a study group under his chairmanship to prepare detailed proposals.

The notorious exercise of "the evaluation of the state services" seemed never-ending and excused the Government from considering other minor demands, saying that these would be examined in the general framework of the evaluation and restructure of the Educational Service. Such minor demands were, for example, those related to the status and permanent staffing of the Paedagogical Academy and of the Paedagogical Institute whose consideration was continuously postponed. The delay in the "evaluation" created resentment among the teachers, and this time the secondary school teachers went on strike in May 1972.[59] Later the Government offered a 16 per cent increase in salary to all its employees as part of the proposed salary revision, and in May 1973 presented detailed proposals. The teachers' unions submitted counter proposals.[60] Negotiations dragged on until July 1974

when there was the coup against President Makarios and the Turkish military invasion of the island.

Four years after the Turkish invasion the Cyprus Government, under President Kyprianou, felt financially confident to resume the study of restructuring the Government services with a view to increased efficiency and a more equitable pay structure. In order to evaluate the qualifications and duties of the various posts and services, the Government consultant, Mr. Allingham, carried out a survey. He interviewed a representative sample of teachers and other Government employees, such as civil servants and policemen, and studied documents on the duties of various posts submitted to him by the Government and the unions.[61] He first proposed that a "unified pay structure", made up of 16 pay scales, A1 to A16, should replace the previous separate and often different pay scales used in each branch of Government employment.[62] All concerned agreed to this rationalisation which made comparisons easier. The 16 pay scales are listed in Appendix B.13. On the placement of the various posts on these scales, Allingham made certain recommendations to the Government as to internal relativities, but his report has never been made public. It was up to the Government to strike the best possible bargain with the unions.

The Government studied Allingham's proposals and started prolonged and paralled negotiations with all the unions. These negotiations ended in 1981 after several fluctuations in the Governments proposals, reflected in three "memoranda of agreement", each replacing the previous one.[63] During that three-year period (1979 to 1981) the teachers went on strike several times over the proposals and tactics of the Government, and on one occasion the officials of the Secondary General Teachers' Union went on a hunger strike.[64] In the end the agreements between the Government and the teachers' unions were

given legal sanction through "The Public Educational Service (Increase of Salaries, Restructure and Incorporation of Certain Posts in the Unified Pay Scales) Law of 1981" (Law 12/1981).[65]

The end result of these prolonged negotiations can be summarised as follows:

(a) All university graduates in the Government service were classified according to the type of their degree and the responsibilities of their posts into three groups: (a) "the higher group", on combined pay scales A9-A11-A12, (b) "the medium group", on combined pay scales A8-A10-A11, and (c) "the lower group", on combined pay scales A7-A8-A10. In that way doctors, lawyers and engineers were placed in the "higher group". Secondary school teachers holding a university degree were placed in the "medium group" of graduates, on pay scales A8-A10-A11. Physical Education secondary school teachers, who since 1975 followed a four-year course at the Academies of Physical Education in Athens and Salonica, which were not considered of university standard, were placed in the "lower group" of graduates, on pay scales A7-A8-A10.

(b) All Government employees whose academic qualifications were a diploma from a three-year sub-university course were placed on the same pay scale, i.e. combined pay scales A5-A7-A9. Primary school teachers and secondary school teachers with such qualifications (grade B) were placed on that scale.

(c) All Government employees with lower qualifications were placed on lower pay scales. Secondary school teachers with such lower qualifications, such as assistant instructors, were placed on combined scales A4-A6.

(d) New entrants to State teaching posts were to be placed on

lower combined pay scales.

(e) The number of promotion posts with administrative duties i.e. headmaster and assistant headmasters were to be increased by stages.[66]

In general secondary school teachers came out of these negotiations over salaries reasonably satisfied. Their only complaint is that only about 12 per cent of them hold promotion posts. For primary school teachers the ratio is about 24 per cent, and for civil servants about 50 per cent.[67] Primary school teachers, although having achieved their original target of parity with non-graduate secondary school teachers whose course of study was a three-year one, are still not satisfied. They claim that the differentials between graduate secondary school teachers and themselves are too large, and they tried to renegotiate their pay scales after they had passed through the House of Representatives. It must be emphasised that, although the new pay scales for teachers are better than the previous ones, the net increase will be achieved only after several years, because the transfer from the old to the new pay scales was "horizontal". However the internal relativities between primary school teachers, secondary school teachers and civil servants are more equitable. The pay scales for teachers are set out in Appendix B.14.

The outcome of the 20-year old negotiations between the teachers and their employers highlights an important issue. The issue is the extent to which the professional status of teachers depends on their pre-service and in-service education and training. Given that salary is an important factor in deciding professional status, and even social status, the short answer is that it depends directly on the level and length of their academic and professional preparation. By

the 1963 and the 1968 salary restructures primary school teachers were placed on the same pay scale as secondary school teachers grade C, i.e. those who had followed a two-year post-secondary course. Indeed such were their qualifications up to 1968. In 1981, when there was the next revision of salaries, primary school teachers were placed on the same pay scale as secondary school teachers grade B, i.e. those who had followed a three-year course. For the past 14 years (1968 to 1981) the graduates of the Academy had qualified after a three-year course, and older teachers, with a two-year course of studies, began to move up the administrative ladder on promotion to assistant headmasters. In that way most of the ordinary primary school teachers were qualified from the three-year course, and as such were placed on the pay scale for those with such qualifications, a pay scale that applied to primary education, secondary education and to the civil service. Similarly, secondary school teachers for the subject of Physical Education, were placed on the salary scales for secondary school teachers grade B in 1963 and in 1968 because their course of study at the Academies of Physical Education in Greece was then a three-year one. Since September 1975 that course was lengthened to 4 years and, although it was not considered of university standard, they were able to claim and to achieve in 1981 a better pay scale relative to primary school teachers, the combined pay scale A7-A8-A10. This is not a unique situation for Cyprus. A recent study carried out at the German Institute for International Educational Research (1976) concluded that the most important criterion for the relative pay of teachers in most countries was the length of their studies and their level of education.[68]

Under these circumstances the best way for teachers in Cyprus to claim higher salaries in the future would be first to raise

the length and level of their pre-service and in-service education and training. Had the secondary school teachers' unions got their priorities right they would have demanded in 1975, when the Paedagogical Institute started functioning, that all new entrants to the profession should have also qualified in Education by following a one-year pre-service training course at the Institute. In that way they would have been able to claim that secondary school teachers had one year of studies more than other graduates employed in the civil service and thus ask to be placed in the "higher group" of graduates. They did not have the foresight to make such an issue a priority in their demands and postponed discussions on the status of the Paedagogical Academy and the Paedagogical Institute. After they concluded their 1981 agreement with the Government, the Director of the Institute was asked by the Ministry to make suggestion for better provisions for teacher preparation. He proposed a six-month pre-service training course at the Institute, but the Secondary General Teachers' Union found themselves in the strange position of being opposed to such an arrangement, ostensibly because secondary school teachers have a right to induction training at the expense of the Government, through the day-release probationers' course.[69]

The Primary School Teachers' Union realised where their interest lay very early, and pressed for extension of the pre-service course at the Academy from two to three years. This was done as from September 1965 (and the first teachers so qualified were appointed in September 1968). They were thus able to achieve parity with their secondary school colleagues through the 1981 revision of salaries. They could not seriously press for further extension of the course because the course in Greece was always a two-year one, and there was no university in Cyprus to incorporate the Academy if they proposed

such a development. As from September 1984 the pre-service preparation of primary and pre-primary school teachers in Greece is taking place in the country's universities as a 4-year course. The same is done for the training of Physical Education teachers. It is expected that similar changes will take place in Cyprus, that is the course at the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus will be extended to four years, irrespective of whether the Academy remains an independent institution or is incorporated in the proposed University of Cyprus. The primary school teachers are indeed pressing for such an upgrading of the Academy, and they are most likely to demand higher pay scales for that. If past experiences is a guide, they will then probably be placed on salary scales A7-A8-A10 just like the teachers of Physical Education.[70]

The other obvious issue is that of the extent to which the improved pay scales, introduced by the 1981 salary restructure, have raised or are likely to raise the quality of the work being done in the schools. A specific study is necessary to answer this question. However it is easy to discern that one element is lacking: extrinsic motivation. Intrinsic motivation on the part of a certain proportion of teachers who are dedicated to their profession is certainly there. But extrinsic motivation, by way of expected rise in emoluments as a result of merit rating, is not built into the new pay structure. A young secondary school teacher is expected to be appointed at the age of 30 to 35, when his turn comes. He is placed on the combined pay scales A8-A10-A11, and it will take him some 23 years to reach the top of the pay scale. During those 23 years he will be receiving his annual salary increments automatically, simply by doing the minimum. Chances of promotion are very slim, as the present ratio of about 12 per cent is scarcely adequate to motivate people, and there are many complaints that the criteria of promotion are not meritocratic anyway.

Stagnation and complacency is most likely to prevail among teachers. Probably what is needed is some kind of built-in mechanism for accelerated movement up the pay scales for those deserving teachers with good reports and in-service training credits. Negative motivation, in the form of stopping increments for indifferent teachers is usually counterproductive. The issue of motivation and the contribution of in-service training to the improvement of teachers' performance is also examined in Chapters 15 and 16 of this thesis, from an empirical standpoint.

10.2.5 Conditions of Service of Teachers

The conditions of service of teachers have been legally defined by "The Public Educational Service Law of 1969" (Law 10/1969) and its subsequent amendments.[71] As provided by that law, the Council of Ministers could issue regulations within the meaning of the law, on any subject that might arise with respect to schools and teachers; such regulations should first receive legal sanction by the House of Representatives and be published in the Official Gazette of the Republic. The major matters related to the status of teachers that have been decided by that law, its amendments and the related regulations are (a) the structure of the Educational Service, (b) appointments, (c) transfers, (d) assessment of teachers, (e) promotions, and (f) disciplinary matters.

According to the above law a post could be either "permanent" or "temporary" and their number was to be decided by law or regulations. All permanent posts were to be pensionable. The duties of a post and the necessary qualifications to compete for it were to be defined in a "scheme of service" to be approved by the Council of Ministers. For appointment and promotion purposes the posts were to be

classified in their respective schemes of service as "first appointment posts", "first-appointment-and-promotion posts" and "promotion posts". Vacant first appointment posts or first-appointment-and-promotion posts were to be advertised in the Official Gazette of the Republic, while vacant promotion posts could be filled without an advertisement. Appointments and promotions were to be at the discretion of the Educational Service Commission who could establish procedures for filling such posts. An appointment to a permanent post was to be made usually "on probation" for a two-year period after which the appointment was to be confirmed if the service of the holder was reported to be satisfactory. Appointments could be also made "on contract" and such appointments could be usually terminated at one month's notice by either party to the contract.[72]

For first appointment teaching posts the following procedure had been established by "The Education Officers (Teaching Staff) Regulations of 1972 to 1974". Vacant first appointment teaching posts were to be published in the Official Gazette of the Republic; by the end of June of each year the Educational Service Commission would assess the applications received by the end of April of that year, and draw up "lists of candidates for appointment", by specialisation, which were to be made public on the notice-board of the office of the Commission. The criteria for assessing an applicant were to be the quality of his academic qualifications, date of qualifying, date of application, previous educational service, service in the National Guard and social or physical disadvantage (such as being crippled). For example a first class honours degree was to contribute 4 points, a second class honours 2 points, two years of educational service at a recognised school 2 points, and so on. The total number of points assigned to a candidate was to decide his place on the list of

candidates for appointment, for his specialisation. Appointments either on probation or on contract were to be made according to the needs of the educational service for each specialisation from the respective list of candidates for appointment in strict order.[73]

This procedure for grading applicants seems fair and democratic. There was, however, an important qualification. Those on each list of candidates for appointment who were not appointed because of shortage of vacancies at the beginning of the school year were to be put on top of each list for the next year. In the following year when a new cohort of graduates were to apply they were to be graded among themselves and placed on each list, after the applicants of the previous year. In other words, for each specialisation, there was to be a grading among the graduates of a given year, but not among them as a whole. Therefore the prevailing criterion for grading is seniority, not qualifications, academic or otherwise. That this is indeed the case was explicitly stated in the following announcement of the Educational Service Commission, displayed on the notice-board at the offices of the Commission in July 1981, and published in the local press:

"The Educational Service Commission announces the following:

The lists of candidates for appointment, which include all those candidates who have submitted their application for appointment to posts of secondary and primary school teacher by 30/4/81, have been displayed on the notice-board of the office of the Commission (35, Homer Avenue, Nicosia). The lists for candidate instructors will be displayed on the same notice board by Saturday 25/7/81. As from Monday 27/7/81 copies of the lists will be also available at the District Offices of Education in Limassol, Larnaca and Paphos.

Because of the observed differentiation in the position of priority from that on the lists of previous years for some candidates, the Committee would like to explain that this is due to one of the following three reasons:

(a) Since July 1980 (when the previous lists had been drawn up), no appointments to permanent posts have been made and therefore nobody has been struck off the lists (those appointed on

> contract remain on the lists). On the contrary some graduates of past years have applied this year for the first time, and because the basic criterion for the order of priority is the time an applicant qualifies, these older graduates precede those applicants who were included in the previous lists but acquired their qualification after them"[74]

It was possible to verify the contention that seniority is the prevailing criteron, by checking the lists containing the full particulars of the applicants and the points awarded by the Commission to each applicant.[75] This point was also confirmed in an interview with the Secretary of the Commission (see Appendix C.13). He stated that the best candidate (according to the criteria defined in the Regulations) of a given year is placed on the list for his specialisation after the worst candidate of the previous year. This is a serious disadvantage. The number of graduates on the lists has been increasing in the last 10 years or so, as supply began to exceed demand. There is no problem with primary school teachers because their number is controlled by a competitive entrance examination held by the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus. But the number of university graduates is not controlled, and anybody can study in any university of the world, at his own expense. The number of qualified applicants on the lists for secondary education has increased to such an extent in recent years that there are more than twice as many applicants as there are secondary school teachers serving in the schools of the country. Applicants have to wait for five to ten years, depending on their specialisation, until their turn for appointment comes. The system of grading mainly by seniority appears to be very damaging to education, because probably good candidates are lost to other occupations. This hypothesis is investigated empirically in Chapter 13.

Another problem is the system of appointing new teachers "on contract". According to the regulations a teacher can be appointed on

contract as a replacement for those who are on leave.[76] But the practice has taken disproportionate dimensions in recent years. According to the Annual Report of the Educational Service Commissions for 1983, the number of teachers on contract during the academic year was 257 in secondary education, and 223 in primary.[77] They formed about 10 per cent of the teaching force. From the paedagogical point of view this is particularly detrimental for secondary education. Inspectors are not legally obliged to assess or assist those on contract, and the Paedagogical Institute cannot provide for them through its probationers' course, until they are appointed on probation, when they are released for one day per week for one year to attend that course. Moreover the teachers on contract are often posted to remote and small schools where they can have neither proper help from superiors nor advice from colleagues easily at hand as in large urban centres. The problems of induction are examined empirically in Chapter 14 of the thesis.

Transfer is another problem for teachers. According to Law 10/1969 and the subsequent amendments and regulations, a teacher can be transferred in order to serve the "needs of the service", or for personal reasons. It is obvious that posts in remote areas are considered by teachers as "bad posts"; on the other hand needs of staffing do change and there is an objective necessity to transfer teachers. One device has been to make those promoted to the post of assistant headmaster or headmaster subject to transfer to schools in rural areas. It is not uncommon for such a transfer to involve travelling expenses higher than the increase in salary resulting from the promotion.[78] A constant complaint of teachers has been that the regulations for transfers were so general that they allowed great latitude of discretion by the Educational Service Commission. However

Law 10/1969 has been recently (in 1985) amended, and new regulations concerning transfers of teachers have been approved by the Council of Ministers and the House of Representatives[79] The innovation behind these regulations is that measurable criteria will apply for each transfer, in the following way:

"1. In making a transfer ... the Commission will observe the order of priority defined by the following criteria:
(a) The unfavourability of a post for a given teacher, which is decided by:
(i) the distance of his place of work from his place of permanent residence,
(ii) the time of service at a school which is outside his place of permanent residence,
(iii) the type of school, in the case of primary school teachers, and
(iv) as to whether the place of work is in an urban or rural area, as well as the climate of the place of work and the transport facilities of the place of work with the place of permanent residence of the teacher,
(b) The years of educational service of a teacher, and
(c) The composition of the family of a teacher.
2. The weight which shall be placed by the Commission on the criteria referred to in paragraph 1 of this Regulation can be decided by the Council of Ministers, through a system of arithmetic evaluation of these criteria by way of points."[80]

One of the most difficult issues concerning the work of teachers has been their evaluation and their claims to promotion. By its very nature, evaluation is a subjective exercise. Up to 1976 the sole evaluator of a teacher was his inspector. By "The Education Officers (Inspection and Evaluation) Regulations of 1976" an attempt was made to involve more people in the evaluation process. Towards the end of each academic year each teacher submits a "report" in which he describes his work during the past year. At least every two years, his headmaster submits a report on the work of each teacher, and so does the inspector who has inspected the teacher. These three reports are deposited in the confidential file of the teacher. They form the

backround reports on which a committee of inspectors, including the inspector who had inspected the teacher, draws up a "special" or final report on a teacher, for a given academic year. Each of the following items, evaluated separately, receives up to 10 points: (a) Professional training in subject-matter and in paedagogical studies, (b) Adequacy in teaching ability, (c) Administrative ability, and (d) General contact. The total sum of points forms the numerical evaluation of the "merit" of a teacher, and obviously makes comparison easier in cases of promotion.[81]

However, the promotion of teachers has been and still remains a most difficult problem and gives rise to inumerable complaints. According to "The Educational Service Amendment Law of 1979" (Law 53/1979);

> "In examining the claims to promotion [the Commission] takes duly into account the merits, qualifications and seniority of teachers, according to procedures being decided [by it]
> In effecting promotions, the Commission duly takes into account the confidential reports on the candidates, and the recommendations of the corresponding Head of Department."[82]

Given that the Educational Service Commission usually invites candidates for promotion to an interview, in practice the criteria become six, i.e. merits, qualifications, seniority, confidential reports, recommendations of Heads of Department, and performance at the interview. The question is how are these criteria measured and applied to individual cases, and how far can the discretion of the Commission extend. Teachers have the right of recourse to the Supreme Court, according to Article 146 of the Constitution.[83] This Court can declare a decisiion of the Commission regarding a promotion null and void if there was an obvious injustice, but the procedure takes several years, and the Commission is not always

legally bound by such rulings. In the past there were many complaints that nepotism and political affiliations were factors effecting promotions.[84] It is very difficult to say whether such accusations are well founded. But the important thing is not whether they are founded or not, it is that many teachers feel that justice is not being done. These feelings are examined in Chapters 15 and 16 of this thesis, from an empirical point of view. As the Director-General of the Ministry put it, in an interview given to the author,

> "The feeling by some teachers that they are maltreated and that injustice is done to them is a serious handicap that influences adversely the normal and efficient functioning of the educational system. Such feelings may be either founded or unfounded, but the result for the system is just the same."[85]

The teachers were demanding for many years that there must be quantifiable criteria for promotion so that the discretion of the Administration would be limited. The demand for measurable criteria is currently under serious consideration, and the Commission hopes that such a change will also make its work easier in making promotions.[86] Of course measureable criteria is not a panacea. Measureable criteria are applied in drawing up the lists of candidates for first appointments, but the problems created are formidable. If in drawing up measurable criteria for promotion seniority is again given high weighting, then there would be no motivation to work hard or to take part in in-service training, which supposedly increases teaching performance. Qualifications are almost fixed by the requirements for appointment, which state that a primary school teacher must be graduate of a Paedagogical Academy and a secondary school teacher usually a university graduate, so that difference in qualifications usually comes through further studies, or in-service training. In the end qualifications might amount to in-service training and merit might

amount to hard work in the classroom and generally in the school. The latter is assessed by the inspectorate, and an element of subjectivity is inherently involved. A totally objective system of assessing teachers is unrealistic, but using quantifiable criteria creates a sense of justice in the profession, which is vital for the professional morale of the teachers.

Finally the Educational Service Law of 1969 defined the rights, benefits and duties of teachers and inspectors and established a disciplinary code. Rights and benefits include salary, pensions, leaves, and free health treatment in state hospitals. It is their duty to be loyal to the state, to perform their teaching duties faithfully, to comply with the orders of their superiors, and to behave properly to them, their colleagues, and the general public. They are not allowed to publish anything of a political or administrative nature, or to have an interest in any commercial enterprise. Most significantly they are not allowed to have another job or to give private lessons.[87] Unfortunately this latter provision has not been strictly enforced, and many teachers are using their afternoon free time either for giving private lessons or for running a business. This is detrimental to their dedication to the Government service, and to their voluntary in-service training which takes place in the afternoon or during the vacations.[88] The disciplinary code could be used to reprimand such teachers, or even to dismiss them, but it has not yet been efficiently applied.

The professional status of teachers in Cyprus has certainly reached an enviable level, although their social status has diminished. This latter point is examined empirically in Chapter 15. Certainly they enjoy good salaries, satisfactory pension rights and they have security of tenure. Of course there are some problems, and they will

continue to demand better conditions as all teachers do. The obvious question is whether their teaching efficiency improved by improving their status as working people. A separate investigation is necessary to answer this question.

10.3 Growth of the Educational System Since Independence

10.3.1 Educational Policies

The educational policies of both the Greek Cypriot leaders and the British Government during colonial times were largely determined by political considerations (see Chapter 6). Political considerations remained an important factor in deciding educational policies after independence.

The political aspirations of the Greek Cypriots throughout the British Rule has been "enosis", i.e. union with Greece. To this end they organised the October 1931 revolt and the armed struggle of 1955-59. The Turkish Cypriots, forming about 18 per cent of the population, did not take part in the anticolonial struggle. On the contrary, they were content with their British masters and often co-operated with them against the Greek Cypriot political opposition in the Legislative Council (1882 to 1931). Turkey showed no interest in Cyprus until the abortive Tripartite Conference of 1955. After that she encouraged the Turkish Cypriots to agitate for "taksim", i.e. partition of the island, as a counter demand to the Greek Cypriot demand for "enosis". In the last few years of the British Rule the armed revolution of the Greek Cypriots and the counter mobilisation of the Turkish Cypriots precipitated serious intercommunal clashes.

The London Agreement of 1959 on the political future of the island satisfied the strategic interests of the British Government in

the form of sovereign military bases in Cyprus, but it was a compromise for both the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots. Independence did not eradicate the conflicting aspirations of the two communities. It was considered by both as a convenient transitional arrangement, and broke down three years later. The bicommunal character of the Cyprus Constitution provided all the elements for further disputes. Education in particular was conceived in the Constitution as a strictly communal concern and in the limited sense of a medium for transmitting communal values. For the Greek Cypriots these communal values included their frustrated aspiration to union with Greece. That situation has influenced the formulation of educational policies after independence.

Dr. Spyridakis was in charge of Greek Cypriot education during the first decade of independence (1960-1970). His educational policy was one of following the Greek models of education in all aspects as closely as possible, but this policy was not without its problems.[89] For a start it was no policy at all. Everything emanated from Athens and the Greek Cypriot authorities had no control whatsoever. A glaring example of this predicament was the George Papandreou reforms of 1964. In a short period of three years, 1964 to 1967, Cyprus had to accept and apply without consultation decisions on educational matters taken by a series of different Greek Covernments, of very wide ideological convictions, ranging from liberal leftists to military dictatorships. The Panandreou reforms were in fact long overdue. They included the extension of the course of the Paedagogical Academies from two to three years; the establishment of a Paedagogical Institute to undertake in-service training, curriculum development and educational research; the abolition of the entrance examinations to secondary schools; and the use of the spoken form of language, "demotikē", as the language of instruction at all levels of education

in place of the sophisticated "katharevousa", and the abolition of Ancient Greek and Latin in lower secondary education. These reforms were progressively diluted after Papandreou was forced to resign in July 1965 and completely reversed when the junta of the Greek colonels usurped power in Greece in April 1967. Dr. Spyridakis did not hesitate to follow these forward and backward swings in educational policy because, as he put it, "practical and political considerations" were "more important than educational ones."[90]

Another problem of Dr. Spyridakis' was that the educational system of Greece which was copied in Cyprus was outdated and was inadequate for the manpower needs of the developing economy of the island. The first to criticise openly the educational policy followed by Dr. Spyridakis was Mr. Frixos Petrides, headmaster of the Pancyprian Gymnasium during the period 1962 to 1970, and later Minister of Education himself. He argued publicly that education should be as much utilitarian as humanistic and that the educational system of Greece was "outdated in every respect".[91] In his annual report as headmaster of the Pancyprian Gymnasium for the academic year 1968-69 he proposed that the following educational reforms were necessary if the educational system was to serve the best interests of the country: (a) More specialisation and wider selection of subjects at the upper secondary level; (b) a new type of school, "The School of Modern Greek Studies", to teach modern Greek language and culture and modern foreign languages; (c) changes in the curricula of all schools, so as to be more life-relevant, and preparation of better text-books; and (d) expansion of vocational-technical education.[92]

Inside and outside the Cabinet two influential Ministers Mr. Renos Solomides, Minister of Finance, and Mr. Tassos Papadopoulos, Minister of Labour and Social Insurance, argued that the educational

authorities had failed to adjust education to the needs of the developing economy of the island so that the majority of the school-leavers were not provided with the knowledge and skills necessary for employment. Spyridakis responded to such pressures mainly by expanding the infrastractural provisions for technical-vocation education, but he made it complementary to humanistic education. He modified the curriculum of the lower three-year cycle of technical schools to become identical to the lower three-year cycle of the gymnasia and made their upper three-year cycle rather similar to a science section of the gymnasium, or, as the Minister of Labour and Social Insurance put it, "a gymnasium with technical bias".[93] The number of pupils in technical schools increased from around 3 per cent during the last year of the Colonial Administration to 16 per cent in 1969-70. Although this was an increase, the situation was still not satisfactory. This was due basically to two reasons: (a) the prejudice against manual work and (b) the non-recognition of technical schools by the Greek Government, so as to enable Greek Cypriots to enter Greek Universities and Polytechnics with or without entrance examinations. No comparable schools existed in Greece.

Besides these critics of Spyridakis' policies many other organised groups pressed for reforms, which in effect meant deviations from the educational system of Greece. However practical and political considerations prevailed over educational ones. The political situation in the island during the first decade of independence, especially after the start of the intercommunal clashes in December 1963 and the threat of a Turkish invasion, made the Greek Cypriots increasingly dependent on Greece. Therefore, the arguments of the nationalists who advocated full educational identification with Greece seemed much more sensible than those who were asking for reforms and

deviations. Further, the Greek Governments always put overt and covert pressure on the Cypriot authorities to align their educational policy as closely as possible to that of Greece.[94]

The most important practical consideration for following the educational models of Greece was the recognition by the Greek Ministry of Education of those Greek Cypriot schools which followed the Greek curricula. The graduates of such schools were admitted to Greek universities without entrance examinations, and studying in Greece was cheaper and, for language reasons, easier for the Greek Cypriots. No secondary school could survive without such recognition. Besides, secondary school text-books were provided free of charge by the Greek Government for the Greek Cypriot pupils, and most of the secondary school teachers were graduates of Greek universities, and therefore naturally inclined to follow closely the Greek models.

The attitude of the teachers is interesting from the point of view of their professional status. The primary school teachers, who in 1929 became Government employees, had been decisively cut off from the mainstream of Greek models since 1935, when a new and Cypriot-centered curriculum was introduced in the primary schools. Secondary school teachers always followed the Greek models. Yet both groups willingly favoured "full identification with the educational system of Greece". But they put more emphasis on their own professional interests, and demanded that the Cyprus Government would adopt for them the same pension scheme as that in Greece (80 per cent of their latest salary after 35 years of service), the same educational legislation and the same principles of renumeration.[95] They put these demands to Frixos Petrides when he succeeded Spyridakis as Minister of Education.[96]

It is unfortunate that, despite his good intentions, Petrides was unable to realise any of the reforms which he advocated

when he was in the educational opposition. He drew detailed plans while in office and tried to establish a two-way traffic of ideas between the Greek and the Greek Cypriot Ministries of Education. But the colonels' regime in Athens did not trust him, mainly because he opposed them on certain educational issues related to the teaching of the Greek language to the children of Greek Cypriot emigrants in London, where they form a sizeable community of about 200,000.[97] They asked Makarios to dismiss him, which he reluctantly did in 1972. The political circumstances of the last three or four years before the coup and the invasion in 1974, i.e. the political violence in the Greek Cypriot community, the ecclesiastical crisis and the mistrust between the two Governments, forced the Educational Authorities of Cyprus to follow the existing policy of copying the Greek models of education.

As far as the curricula for primary school teacher education are concerned, it must be noted that the only element that survived of the 1964 Papandreou reform was the extension of the course of the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus to three years as from September 1965. In Greece this innovation was cancelled by the colonels' regime in 1967 and even to-day the Paedagogical Academies in Greece follow a two-year course. As from September 1984 the training of primary school teachers in Greece is taking place in the universities, on a four-year basis, and the Paedagogical Academies will be gradually phased out.[98] The influence of the Greek example is expected to be felt in Cyprus. In this respect it is worth noting that as from September 1972, the Ministry of Education decided that the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus would follow the new curriculum of the Paedagogical Academies of Greece, despite the fact that they had asked the staff to draw a new curriculum of their own, which they did in the academic year 1971-72.[99]

After the national disaster of 1974, there were two basic

educational problems in Cyprus: (a) the replacement of about 40 per cent of the infrastructure of education in the form of buildings and materials which had been lost because of the invasion and the population displacement, and (b) the crisis of identity related to the general aims of education. The first problem has gradually disappeared but the second was as intractable as the political problem of the island, and exists even to-day, although not to the same degree. The coup which was organised and carried out largely by the Greek army officers against the legitimate Government of Cyprus, and the inability of Greece to supply any effective assistance during the Turkish invasion that followed, undermined the feelings and trust of the Greek Cypriots towards Greece, the country they considered as their motherland. The tragedy and the confusion led many people to attribute these ills to education which they easily made a scapegoat.

Some organised groups pressed for "cypriotisation" of the educational system. In its extreme form this demand crystallised in the promotion through education of a new national identity, the Cypriot identity, cut off from Greece. Other people were very reluctant to agree to such a course of action, especially after the educational reforms promulgated in Greece following the restoration of democratic rule in that country. But the divisions of opinion run throughout the Cypriot society, including for several years the Minister and the Deputy Minister of Education, who held diametrically opposite views on the issue of "cypriotisation" of the educational system.[100] The teachers became highly politicised. Each of the four political parties of Cyprus organised its offshoot in the teachers' unions, and all compete for power and make alliances in the central administrative councils of the unions.[101]

No formal statement has as yet been issued by the Council of

Ministers as to the re-orientation or otherwise of education in Cyprus. From the messages of the Ministry of Education at the beginning of the school year and on other occasions, it can be deduced that the educational policy of the Cyprus Government has been (a) to strengthen the state identity of Cyprus and (b) to follow the Greek educational system, with a wide measure of deviations as to curricula and methods. The Greek Governments, on the other hand, now willingly accept such deviations as relevant to the special situation of Cyprus. The nearest to defining the values of the educational system of Cyprus is Article 3(i) of the 1984 Regulations for the Functioning of the Secondary Schools, drawn up by the Council of Ministers in September 1984, which reads as follows:

> "The aims of the Greek public secondary schools is the intellectual, emotional and physical growth of the pupils according to the principles of the Christian religion and the Greek tradition; the development of all-round personalities; the preparation of democratic and responsible citizens; the strengthening of the national and fighting, but not chauvinistic, spirit; the conservation of the memory for the occupied areas of Cyprus; and the preparation for all the aspects and all the roles in life, that is the role of the autonomous person, the role of the citizen of the independent Cyprus Republic, the role of the working person, and the role of the parent."[102]

Summing up the educational policy in Cyprus during the last 25 years (1959 to 1984), one can say that there was a shift of emphasis. Up to 1974 the aim has been, in degrees varying according to the political circumstances, the preparation of citizens with a strong national conscience; so strong that they considered the state something temporary. After 1974 the underlying aim has been the reinforcement of the state through education. Despite the change the links with Greece have not been cut, not only because of emotional, but also because of practical reasons. They are practical to the extent that they make the eduational system of Cyprus dependent on the university provisions in

Greece. This aspect is examined in the following section.

10.3.2 Plans for a University in Cyprus

Throughout the colonial years the great majority of Greek Cypriot students, was attracted to the Greek universities and the rest studied mainly in the United Kingdom. The Greek Cypriot secondary schools which followed the curriculum of the state secondary schools in Greece were "recognised" by the Greek Ministry of Public Instruction, a deliberate arrangement which entitled their school-leavers to enter Greek universities and other institutions of higher education without entrance examination. In addition there were certain other practical advantages for the school-leavers of such recognised schools. The language of instruction in Greek universities was Greek, the mother language of the Greek Cypriot students, and the prescribed curriculum of their secondary education was designed to be preparatory for their studies. In Greek universities they paid no tuition fees, while the cost of living in Greece was very much lower than in the United Kingdom, even if their secondary schooling prepared them for such studies; and if they were subsequently employed in Cyprus as teachers in recognised secondary schools, they were entitled to pension benefits provided by the Greek Government.

The nationalist leaders in Cyprus were very much in favour of these arrangements, because they oriented the young, both at secondary school and very much so during their university studies, towards Greece; they socialised them into the "enosis" movement, so that the intelligentsia of the Cypriot society became ardent supporters and often leaders of the movement. For obvious reasons the Colonial Government objected to this state of affairs, but until the early

1930's they did not take any action to influence the secondary or higher education of the Cypriots. However, after the 1931 revolt they attempted to change the curriculum of secondary schools in Cyprus to British-oriented and to lay the foundations for studies in British colleges and universities. At the level of higher education, such policy could be implemented either by providing government scholarships for Cypriot students to British colleges and universities or by establishing a British university in Cyprus. Indeed after 1946 the Colonial Government started several scholarship schemes to provide for higher studies in the United Kingdom. During the last 15 years of the British Administration of Cyprus 120 Cypriots from Government departments, including 34 from the Department of Education, and 130 school-leavers benefited from these scholarships. However the number of these scholarships could not meet the needs of a policy for training secondary schools teachers in British institutions. The demand for secondary school teachers was increasing rapidly during those years, and the nationalist leaders in Cyprus pursuaded the Greek Government to start its own scholarship scheme for Cypriots, an arrangement which continued to the present day. Obviously the establishment of a British university in Cyprus would have served the aims of the Government in a more satisfactory way but, although they considered seriously that possibility, they never progressed beyond the stage of discussion.[103]

The first official suggestion for establishing a British university in Cyprus was made in 1935 by the Governor of Cyprus, Sir Herbert Palmer, to the Colonial Office, at a time when the Government was trying to exercise some control over secondary education.[104] His idea was referred for further study to the Advisory Committee on Education for the Colonies. They found the idea appealing especially if it were to be the University of the Middle East and draw students from

Egypt, Palestine, Lebanon, Turkey, Greece, and Cyprus. The British Council was asked to collect information about the feasibility of such a project, and the Director of Education in Cyprus to submit a report concerning the usefulness of such an institution to Cyprus. The Director of Education, J. R. Cullen, believed that the existing employment situation was not favourable for such a project, nor was it an educational priority. A Teachers' Training College, under Government control, was considered more urgent, and it was established at Morphou in 1937.[105]

After World War II public suggestions for establishing a British university in Cyprus were put forward in several letters to "The Times", stressing the political significance of such an enterprise.[106] But the idea never really progressed beyond the point of academic discussion. At the same time it aroused strong resentment among the Greek Cypriot nationalists. The Cyprus Church considered the establishment of a university in Cyprus as an attempt to break the national and educational links between Greece and Cyprus, to "dehellenize" Cypriot education and to undermine the "enosis" movement. Characteristically the secretary of Archbishop Makarios II (1948-1950), Polycarpos Ioannides, wrote in 1950 a libelous article in a local newspaper accusing the British of ulterior intentions. He was brought to court and sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment.[107]

After independence (1960) there were several recommendations by Greek Cypriots in favour of establishing a university in Cyprus, but up to 1976 the idea never progressed beyond the stage of suggestion at non-governmental level. The extreme nationalists, who continued to aspire to "enosis" and formed the political opposition, opposed the idea of establishing a university in Cyprus, because they considered that such an institution would severe the educational links with Greece

and therefore strengthen the Cypriot identity at the expense of their national aspirations.[108] The position of the leftists is interesting. Although strong supporters of the Cypriot identity they were cool to the idea of a university in Cyprus probably because the existing arrangements were politically more beneficial to them. A considerable number of scholarships was awarded to Cypriots by the governments of the Soviet Union and other communist countries, and such scholarships were obviously an important instrument of ideological socialisation of those students and a means of political influence on the Cypriot intelligentsia and society at large. The other political parties did not develop any party policy on the matter, and no other organised group campaigned for the cause.[109]

The Greek governments of the period 1960 to 1976 did not encourage the Government of Cyprus to establish a university in Cyprus. On the contrary, even at times when the local demand for higher studies was increasing, they continued their policy of attracting Cypriot students to Greece. This can be attributed to the traditional links between Greece and Cyprus, but also to the foreign exchange derived from the money spent by Cypriot students in Greece, as well as to the direct and indirect influence Greece was able to exert on Cyprus through these arrangements. The free entry to all faculties of Greek universities continued after independence, but by 1965 the number of Cypriot students was increasing at such a rate that the Greek Government imposed entrance examinatiions for the Medical and Engineering faculties. In 1970 this requirement was extended to the faculties of Science and in 1976 to all faculties and all institutions of higher education. In 1976 an agreement was reached between the Greek and Cypriot Governments, whereby the following general scheme of selection was introduced: Places for Cypriot students are allocated

after a competitive entrance examination conducted in Cyprus by the "Examinations Service of the Cyprus Ministry of Education". The number of places reserved for Greek Cypriot form (a) 5 per cent of the available places in the Medical and Engineering faculties, (b) 10 per cent of the available places in other university faculties, and (c) 5 per cent of the available places in the sub-university "Technological Educational Institutions" of the Attica region, and 10 per cent of such places in other regions of the country.[110]

Taking into account that the Greek population of Cyprus is about half a million and that of Greece about 10 million, i.e. that the Cypriots are only 5 per cent of the Greeks, it can be seen that the Cypriots enjoy more than their fair share of places in institutions of higher education in Greece. The entrance examinations take place in July each year and their pupose is to grade the applicants and allocate the available places as far as possible according to their ability and their preference. Following a report by an American consultant to the Ministry of Education (Dr. Sherman), it is expected that a new type of external examinations, probably like the British General Certificate of Education Examinations, will be introduced in the near future. In fact, in July 1984 the entrance examinations of the Paedagogical Academy were incorporated in the above scheme of external examinations conducted by the Examinations Service of the Ministry of Education. Since 1975 no places have been reserved for Greek Cypriots at the Paedagogical Academies of Greece which train kindergarten and primary school teachers. That decision was taken after consultations between the Ministries of Education of Greece and Cyprus, so as to leave the preparation of kindergarten and primary school teachers solely in the hands of the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus and thereby facilitate proper planning. However, places for Cypriot students are allocated

for "nursery mistresses" in Greece, and they are trained to look after children under 3 years old, a specialisation not yet provided at the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus.[111]

In addition to the above arrangements for studies in Greece, many other countries have tried to attract Greek Cypriots to their universities. They were obviously in favour of having Greek Cypriots as students, not only because of the foreign exchange brought in by those students but also because of the indirect influence they can exert through them in subsequent years on Cypriot society and on its commerce and industry. Many countries recognise the leaving certificate of the Cyprus gymnasia as a sufficient qualification for entry to their universities, if the average grade recorded on it is high enough, and provided that the applicant concerned can pass a qualifying examination in the respective language. Such countries are, for example, the United States, the Soviet Union, France, Italy and the Federal Republic of Germany. Entrance to British colleges and universities has always been regulated by the General Certificate of Education Examinations, but for good Cypriot applicants their leaving certificate could exempt them from Ordinary Level passes.

Moreover many countries have been offering, and continue to do so to-day, a modest number of scholarships (around 13 per cent) to Greek Cypriots, either directly through their embassies in Cyprus or through the Scholarship Board of the Government of Cyprus. For example, in the academic year 1978-79 out of a total of 12,112 students abroad 1,616 (i.e. 13 per cent) were on scholarship, mainly from foreign governments, while another 1,002 (i.e. an additional 8 per cent) received Greek Government assistance in the form of subsidised meals. In the academic year 1982-83, 1502 students were scholarship/ loan holders, forming about 12.5 per cent of that years' total; of

these scholarships 300 came from the Greek Government, which also subsidised meals for 1800 Cypriot students from refugee or low income families. Throughout the years the number of scholarships provided by foreign Governments made a modest provision for poor but deserving Cypriot school-leavers to study abroad. In recent years a very limited scheme of student loans/scholarships has also been instituted by the Government of Cyprus.[112]

In addition to the local discussions, soundings on the establishment of a university came from abroad. The first one came from President John Kennedy to President Makarios, when he was paying a state visit to the United States in 1961. At various times Greek Cypriot and other professors living in the United States of America or in the United Kingdom submitted reports to the Ministry of Education proposing the establishment of a University in Cyprus. Proposals were also made from Greek universities to establish in Cyprus some branches of certain of their faculties, such as Archaeological Institutes, for which Cyprus was particularly suitable. These soundings also highlighted the issue of the character of the university, i.e. whether it should be an intercommunal university, using an international language such as English as its language of instruction, or solely a Greek university.[113]

The idea of establishing a university in Cyprus, although widely discussed, failed to make any headway up to 1976. Although there were advocates of the cause there were also objections to it, especially from the nationalists, while others considered it too expensive an enterprise. It was generally accepted in government circles that a university in Cyprus would be beneficial in many respects but their attitude was non-commital, especially since there was no organised pressure. Most parents were highly motivated and,

with the growth of economic prosperity after 1966, many were also in a position to make sacrifices for the university education of their children. Scholarships to the ratio of around 13 per cent were available for the able but poor students through several foreign Governments, such as the Fullbright Commission of the United States, the Commonwealth Scholarship Scheme, the State Scholarship Foundation of Greece and the Scholarship schemes of Eastern countries. The economy was in more need of low and middle level technicians than of university trained manpower, which was anyway provided by the existing arrangements in overseas universities. In some specialisations there was even graduate unemployment by 1970. Generally it was not considered a priority by the Government, the existing arrangements seemed to be satisfactory, and there was no organised pressure for establishing a university in Cyprus, as the intractable political problem of the island relegated social reforms to second place.

The attitudes and actions of the first three Ministers of Education were characteristic of the situation. Spyridakis, who was in charge of education during the decade 1960 to 1970, was pre-occupied with the consolidation of the other two stages of education and was often in collision with the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Labour and Social Security concerning his educational policy, and in particular concerning the liberal-utilitarian dichotomy in secondary education. At some stage he paid lip-service to the idea of establishing some university faculties, such as a Forestry College and an Archaeological Institute, affiliated to Greek universities, but he did not proceed to the planning stage.[114] His successor, Frixos Petrides (1970-72) was against the idea, and the following Minister, Dr. Andreas Kouros (1972-74), whose term of office coincided with a politically difficult situation that led to the coup and the invasion,

did not proceed any further. Petrides declared his priorities in the following way:

> "I find the idea [of establishing a university in Cyprus] untimely, in the light of our country's well-known social and economic conditions. For the present, our attention should be turned in other directions of a more urgent need ... In terms of sheer practical necessities, in the direction of a differentiatiion in post-secondary education, with specialised study lasting 1 or 2 years ... And towards [the aim of renewing our educators] to the establishment of an Educational Center for continuous paedagogical advising and in-service post-graduate education of the teaching staff in our schools."[115]

A few years after the Turkish invasion of 1974 there was a change of heart. Not that the above reasons for delay ceased to apply. On the contrary some of them, such as graduate unemployment and the needs in other sectors of the educational system (e.g. the replacement of school buildings lost through the invasion), became more compelling. However, there were at least two important changes, one political the other economic. The political change was that the invasion brought home the importance of self-reliance in all spheres of life and the necessity to strengthen everything Cypriot. The economic change was that other countries began to impose stricter measures regarding admission requirements, fees and even "numerus clausus" on foreign students. For example tuition fees in the United Kingdom were raised year by year and Greece stopped her open door policy of admissions for the Greek Cypriots, in all university faculties as from September 1976. At the same time 40 per cent of the population became refugees and generally the economic ability of the parents to pay for their children's higher education was undermined because of the economic decline following the invasion. In these circumstances the Council of Ministers decided that an interministerial committee should study the possibility of establishing "University Schools" in Cyprus. The

"Interministerial Committee on the Establishment of a University in Cyprus" was appointed by the Minister of Education in February 1976 and they presented their report in December of the same year.[116]

The Interministerial Committee, after analysing the subject mainly from its educational, social, economic and manpower aspects, concluded that the establishment of a university in Cyprus was justified. The Committee was of the opinion that the capital and running costs involved were not beyond the capabilities of the Cyprus economy, especially if the project was phased over a number of years. They also suggested that the proposed university should serve both commnities and use as language of instruction Greek for Greek studies, Turkish for Turkish studies, and English for the culturally neutral subjects, such as Engineering, Pure and Applied Science and Economics. The Committee recommended in their report both the establishment of a University and the expansion of sub-university provisions of the existing institutions, because the anticipated manpower needs of the economy were 40 per cent for university qualified people and 60 per cent for people with sub-degree qualifications. The Committee proposed that the expansion of tertiary education, i.e. the proposed university and the other sub-degree institutions, should be designed to a capacity of 4,000 students with an annual intake of up to 1,000 first year students at the ratio of 2:1 for degree and sub-degree courses. The figure of 4,000 students corresponded to about one third of those studying abroad at the time of the report (1976), and it was assumed that the number of students would not be altered significantly in the near future.[117]

The Report of the Interministerial Committee was laid before the Council of Ministers in April 1977, and the Council decided at its meeting of 21st December, 1978, that a university should be established

in Cyprus.[118] This was a decision in principle only and did not include a statement of the objectives, design or operations of the university. Later the Government requested technical assistance from Unesco in the form of expert advice in the fields of university administration and management and of higher technological education. Unesco sent two consultants, Dr Douglas Hykin, from the United Kingdom, and Mr. Bertil Ostergren, from Sweden, to examine the proposals formulated by the Interministerial Committee and to report on the feasibility of implementing them. In their report, submitted in 1979, the Unesco consultants agreed that a university was necessary in Cyprus and that its main objectives should be to foster Cypriot identity and unity and serve both communities alike. They made detailed suggestions on the priority of activities concerning the establishment of the university and on the whole spectrum of measures to implement the project. For the School of Science and Technology, which was proposed to be one of the earliest schools of the university to be opened, they made detailed proposals in the form of a blue-print to be followed, where possible, in establishing the other Schools. The consultants proposed a phased implementation scheme, after a definite decision for the establishment of the university had been taken by the Government, to consist of a preparatory period to last 3 to 5 years and a three-phase implementation programme to last another 8 years.[119]

An important aspect for teacher education in the above deliberations is that the Interministerial Committee proposed (and the Unesco consultants agreed whole-heartedly) that the existing tertiary education institutions, such as the Paedagogical Academy, should not be integrated within the university, at least until the university was fully established, although a system of credits for transfers from those institutions to the university was not ruled out. The argument

was that this would help the university to be quickly "established and recognised".[120] The Unesco consultants suggested that the School of Education of the University should be established during the second phase of the implementation process, but they did not make definite suggestions as to its functions in relation to pre-service and in-service education and training, save a few general remarks.[121]

In October 1982 the Interministerial Committee, on the instructions of the Ministers of Education, submitted a second report taking into consideration the changes of the past six years. The Committee suggested that the establishment of a university was feasible and even more necessary than before, and revised its recommendations upwards from 4,000 to 6,000 student places, of which 4,000 to be at degree level in the university and the rest at sub-degree level in the existing institutions of higher education which should expand for that purpose.[122]

The deliberations of the Interministerial Committee and of the Unesco Commission, together with public statements of successive Ministers of Education, since 1976, has led the general public to entertain high hopes. Donations have been sent to the Minister of Education for that purpose, a cultural association in support of the university sprang up, and educational seminars have been organised to discuss the matter.[123] All the political parties are now in favour of the establishment of a unversity in Cyprus. But the Government has not yet proceeded (mid-1985) to realise its decision taken in principle in 1978. There are probably three major reasons for this delay:

(a) The Government genuinely wants the university to be an intercommunal institution and to achieve this there must be the co-operation with the Turkish Cypriots. If the university is established without their full participation from the very

beginning it may be seen as a divisive action. In the present state of the political problem of Cyprus this is a delicate issue which must be handled with care.[124]

(b) There is no shortage of university trained manpower in Cyprus. On the contrary there is graduate unemployment which is a serious social problem. The establishment of a university in Cyprus will increase the surplus of graduates.

(c) Other sectors of the economy and other stages of the educational system of Cyprus are competing for the allocation of scarce resources. Although the cost of establishing and running the university along the economic lines proposed by the Interministerial Committee would not be prohibitive, it will increase the education budget by about 25 per cent.[125]

Despite the absence of a university in Cyprus the number of Greek Cypriot students as a ratio of the population of the country is one of the highest in the world. In the academic year 1979-80, a typical year of student statistics for Cyprus in the last decade (1974-1984), Cyprus ranked 6th in the world with 24 students per thousand of population (see Appendix B.15). In the same year the United States of America was first with 52 students per thousand of population, while the United Kingdom was 17th with 16, and Greece 18th with 13 students per thousand of population.[126] The number of Greek Cypriot students abroad in the period 1974 to 1980 was annually over 12,000 (see Appendix B.16). These students were enrolled in nearly 1,000 educational institutions spread over about 30 countries of the world, and about 40 per cent of these students were female.[127] For the period 1974 to 1980, for which published statistics are available, the following characteristics for Greek Cypriot students abroad are of interest: The most popular country for Greek Cypriot students was

Greece with an average percentage of 58.6%; the United Kingdom was second with 18.1 per cent and the socialist block of countries third with 8.2 per cent; about 13 per cent of these students have been on scholarships provided by several host countries, another 13 per cent received Greek Government assistance as refugees (see Appendix B.16). It is calculated that the annual expenditure of students abroad is about 1.5 per cent of the Gross National Product.[128] The number of Greek Cypriot students abroad almost trebled in eight years. In 1976-76, the mid-year of the pre-invasion period of 1960-1974, it was 4,220 and in 1974-75 it became 12,393.[129] It has consistently stayed over 12,000 in the following years. It is estimated that since the Turkish invasion 42 to 45 per cent of school leavers entered some kind of tertiary education, either at home or abroad.[130]

Provisions for studies at home are limited and they are all at sub-university level. The providing institutions are either state or private establishments. The state institutions are: The Paedagogical Academy under the jurisdictiion of the Ministry of Education; the Higher Technical Institute and the Hotel and Catering Institute under the Ministry of Labour and Social Insurance: the School of Nursing and Midwifery and the School of Psychiatric Nursing under the Ministry of Health; and the Forestry College under the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources. Some other state institutions also function from time to time to give specific professional training mainly to civil servants. The private institutions are private enterprises which have in the recent 10 years or so started to attract students because of the lack of a university in Cyprus. They are usually associated with a British Examining Body or Polytechnic; some of them are associated with American universities. No law or other statute has yet been passed to regulate their activities. The most

popular fields of study in the private institutions are Business Administration, Engineering and Secretarial Studies. They have, in recent years, attracted a good percentage of foreign students mainly from the Middle East and Africa. The courses in most state institutions last 3 years; in the private ones they last 1, 2 or 3 years depending on the course. The language of instruction at the Paedagogical Academy is Greek. Most of the other state and all the private institutions of sub-university education use English as their language of instruction and their courses copy English prototypes.[131]

The average annual number of Greek Cypriot students in local state sub-university institutions in the years 1978 to 1983 was over 900;[132] in the same period the private sub-university institutions attracted annually on average nearly 600 Greek Cypriot students (see Appendix B.17). In that way the annual number of Greek Cypriot students at home and abroad, in the last 10 years has been, in round numbers, 14,000. About 10,000 of them have been studying at university level, 3,000 at sub-university level, and 1,000 at preparatory or middle vocational level. These numbers make Cyprus one of the leading countries in the world in numbers of students as a ratio of the population, even without a local university. The obvious question is what is the explanation of this social phenomenon. The main reasons are probably the following:

1. The Cypriot society traditionally accords high status to educated people. It is the dream of every parent in Cyprus to see his children go to university and they willingly make sacrifices for that purpose. Education is a prime factor of upward social mobility. In a recent study (1976) fifth- and sixth-form secondary school pupils were asked to classify 50 occupations according to which one they considered as the best, the second best and so on. The top third of the list of

these occupations required university studies.[133]

2. The monetary incentive to investment in education are very high. In a recent survey (1979) of profiles of earnings by education, it was estimated that a university graduate in Cyprus is likely to earn almost twice as much as a secondary school-leaver. This is mainly due to the public sector which employs 60 per cent of all professional and managerial personnel and places great stress on academic qualifications. Of course the private sector responds more readily to the oversupply of graduates by lowering the salaries paid to new entrants to the university-trained labour force, but the public sector is the largest employer of the highly educated and, because of its pay structure, plays the role of wage leader and wage setter in the market for high-level manpower.[134]

3. Graduate unemployment leads more school leavers to seek university credentials. A proportion of the unemployed university graduates are forced to filter down into jobs formerly held by people with sub-degree qualifications. This in turn forces a certain proportion of sub-professionals into jobs further down the occupational ladder. The net result of this filtering down process is that secondary school leavers are increasingly excluded from professional occupations and tend to seek for themselves better credential through higher studies.

4. The educational system does prepare for university studies, and everybody is free to chose the specialisation he wishes to follow, as long as he has successfully completed the lower stage of secondary education. Primary education is free and compulsory. Secondary education is not compulsory, but it is free up to the age of 16 (soon to be up to the age of 18), and for the last two years it is not difficult to pay the rather low fees in a full employment situation

which enables the young to work during the long summer vacations. Trends in secondary education, extrapolated statistically for the period after the Turkish invasion, indicate that 97 per cent of an age cohort continue their schooling at secondary level. Later 83 per cent of that age cohort are likely, according to the prevailing drop-out rate, to complete the lower secondary school cycle at the age of 15, while 70 per cent of that age cohort to graduate from upper secondary school at the age of 18. Hence 70 per cent of an age cohort are potential university students.[135]

5. There is a deep-rooted prejudice against technical occupations and generally against manual labour in Cyprus. Both pupils and parents prefer a "white collar job", even if it pays less than a "blue collar job". The lower secondary schools give general education and they all follow the same syllabus. After that, pupils are free to choose either an academic specialisation in the academic upper secondary school (previously called gymnasium, now lycee) or a technical specialisation in a technical school. The academic upper secondary schools prepare their students for further academic studies at university level, but they do not prepare them for specific occupations after leaving school. The technical schools charge no school fees and prepare their pupils for direct employment as skilled technicians and craftsmen. They can also compete for a place at the faculties of engineering at university or sub-university level, but as the emphasis of their courses is on workshop techniques their chances of securing such a place are lower than the chances of those pupils following the science section in a gymnasium (now lycee). With these preconditions, school-leavers from technical schools are most likely to find a technical job and they even have modest prospects of securing a place at an institution of tertiary education. School-leavers from

academic secondary schools are these days most likely to remain unemployed after leaving school, and even unemployed after graduating from university. Despite these disadvantages of academic education, the average proportion of pupils in state technical education during the last ten years (1974 to 1983) was only 18 per cent of the total in state schools (see Appendix B.18). The bulk of the pupils, 82 per cent, have followed a state academic upper secondary course which is preparatory for university studies.[136] The reason is that there is social prejudice against manual labour, against technical occupations. The state secondary school system attracts 90 per cent of the pupils, and private secondary schools are also mainly academic and prepare their pupils mainly for further studies abroad. It must be pointed out, however, that there is no prejucice against technological occupations, such as those of an architech or a civil engineer, people who design things and use their brains rather than their muscles. In the study referred to earlier among fifth- and sixth-form secondary school-leavers, these two occupations were placed on top of the list. First place was given to medical doctors, second to architects and third to civil engineers; but masons, carpenters, plumbers, electricians, and other craftsmen were placed at the lower end of the list of 50 occupations.[137]

6. There have been rather good possibilities of financial assistance for university studies abroad. There have been scholarships during the years since the Turkish invasion which provided annually some 1600 students, forming 13 per cent of those studying abroad. Another 13 per cent have been receiving financial assistance from the Greek Government as displaced persons.[138] In addition assistance came from relatives abroad. Cyprus has been an emigration country and there are over 200,000 Greek Cypriots abroad, that is the equivalent of one

third of those in Cyprus. These Cypriots were usually willing to offer some kind of assistance to their young relatives if they wanted to join them in order to study, especially after the invasion.

7. After the Turkish invasion, as a result of which 40 per cent of the people lost all their immovable property, most people came to realise more strongly than before that the only property nobody could take away from them is education; and finally, it has become the fashion for most young people in Cyprus to go to university.

Turning now to the consequences of the absence of a university in Cyprus, it is not difficult to see that diverse cultural, scientific and educational influences are imported into the island by students studying abroad. This might have been a good thing if the Cypriot society was able to absorb and transform these influences in a climate of intellectual exchange and renewal. This would have been easier were there a university in Cyprus which could become a focus for continuing education of professionals, both formal and informal. Cypriots returning from studies abroad find that it is soon very difficult to maintain parity with members of their profession they left behind, because there are no opportunities for intellectual growth in Cyprus. In that way such a high-powered human potential soon decays and remains on the receiving end of the intellectual and educational endeavours of other countries. A university in Cyprus could well fill the cultural vacuum.

Another consequence of the absence of a university in Cyprus is that the educational system remains incomplete and in fact dependent on other educational systems. It is dependent on the educational system of Greece where about 60 per cent of the Greek Cypriot students are attracted. This dependency produced serious problems during the period 1960 to 1974 when the Greek educational system was much in need

of reform, and successive Greek governments changed their educational policies without consulting the Greek Cypriot Educational Authorities. On the other hand since 40 per cent of the school-leavers study in non-Greek universities they have, in addition to their normal studies which prepare them to a certain extent for Greek universities, to attend private institutions or private lessons in the afternoons to prepare them in the language and often the subject-matter required for such studies. In effect the absence of a university hinders the application of a unified education policy, and the creation of an autonomous educational system in Cyprus.

Finally the absence of a university in Cyprus produces a multi-educated teaching force. Except for the theologians and the philolologists who are required to be graduates of Greek universities, the other specialisations can and do draw their secondary school teachers from any recognised university in the world. Levels of study vary from country to country and often from university to university. Some of them receive some paedagogical training, usually theoretical, others not. Clearly there is a need for a common course to mould them into a coherent whole, to make teachers out of diverse graduates. That is why a pre-service training course, to be run by an institution in Cyprus, be it a university or the Paedagogical Institute, is absolutely necessary. Such a course could well include a component in the subject-matter to be taught, in the form of analysis of the syllabus to level off differences in preparation from country to country. The author has personal knowledge that such difficulties do exist, in some specialisations.[139]

10.3.3 Structure, Administration, and Growth of the School System in Independent Cyprus

This section deals very briefly with the structure, administration, and growth of the school system in independent Cyprus because the professional status of teachers is also dependent on their formal relations with their employers and their superiors, and in that way this section completes the subject of this chapter. But it also serves as a point of reference for issues examined in the empirical part of the thesis (Part Three).

The educational system of Cyprus is highly centralised. Centralisation was adopted by Spyridakis from the very beginning (1960) because he believed that education could not be left entirely to local school committees whose viewpoint was "essentially narrow" and in order to "bring the hitherto disorganised education into definite shape".[140] To this end he even "bought" most private secondary schools and enacted legislation in order to exercise some minimum control on the remaining ones or on those which might spring up, as they in fact did.[141] Under "The Transfer of Exercise of Competencies of the Greek Communal Chamber and the Ministry of Education Law of 1965" (Law 12/1965) the Minister of Education became in essence the central authority in educational matters. He was charged, under that law, with the administration of education, the enforcement of educational legislation including the issue of orders to that effect, and the preparation of educational bills and regulations. The latter are referred first to the Council of Ministers for approval and later to the House of Representatives for debate and enactment.[142] As explained in the previous section the Ministry of Labour and Social Insurance, the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources and the Ministry of Health play some role in tertiary education by administering special vocational institutions

directly relevant to their functions, but their educational policies have to be approved by the Council of Ministers just as those of the Ministry of Education.

The senior Officials of the Ministry of Education are the Director General and, under him, the four Heads of Department, called "directors", i.e. the Director of the Department of Primary Education, the Director of the Department of Secondary (General) Education, the Director of the Department of Technical and Vocational Education and the Director of the Department of Higher Education (see figure 10.1). Under each Department comes the respective inspectorate, each headed by a Chief Inspector. The Department of Technical and Vocational Education came into being in 1966 as an autonomous department; similarly the Department of Higher Education came into being in 1984. Previously they formed part of the Department of Secondary and Higher Education. The Department of Primary Education is responsible for the administration of primary, pre-primary and special schools. The Department of Secondary (General) Education is responsible for the administration of lower secondary and higher academic secondary schools. The Department of Technical and Vocational Education is responsible for the technical and vocational schools which cater for pupils 15 to 18 who do not follow an upper academic secondary course. The Department of Higher Education is responsible for the administration of higher education; it has as yet no inspectorate and its functions are at present concerned with the Paedagogical Institute, the Paedagogical Academy, the Examinations Service of the Ministry and other student matters. Under the Director General of the Ministry also come a series of services headed by chief officers, with lower status than the four Heads of Departments. They report directly to the Director General, but obviously have to co-operate closely with the

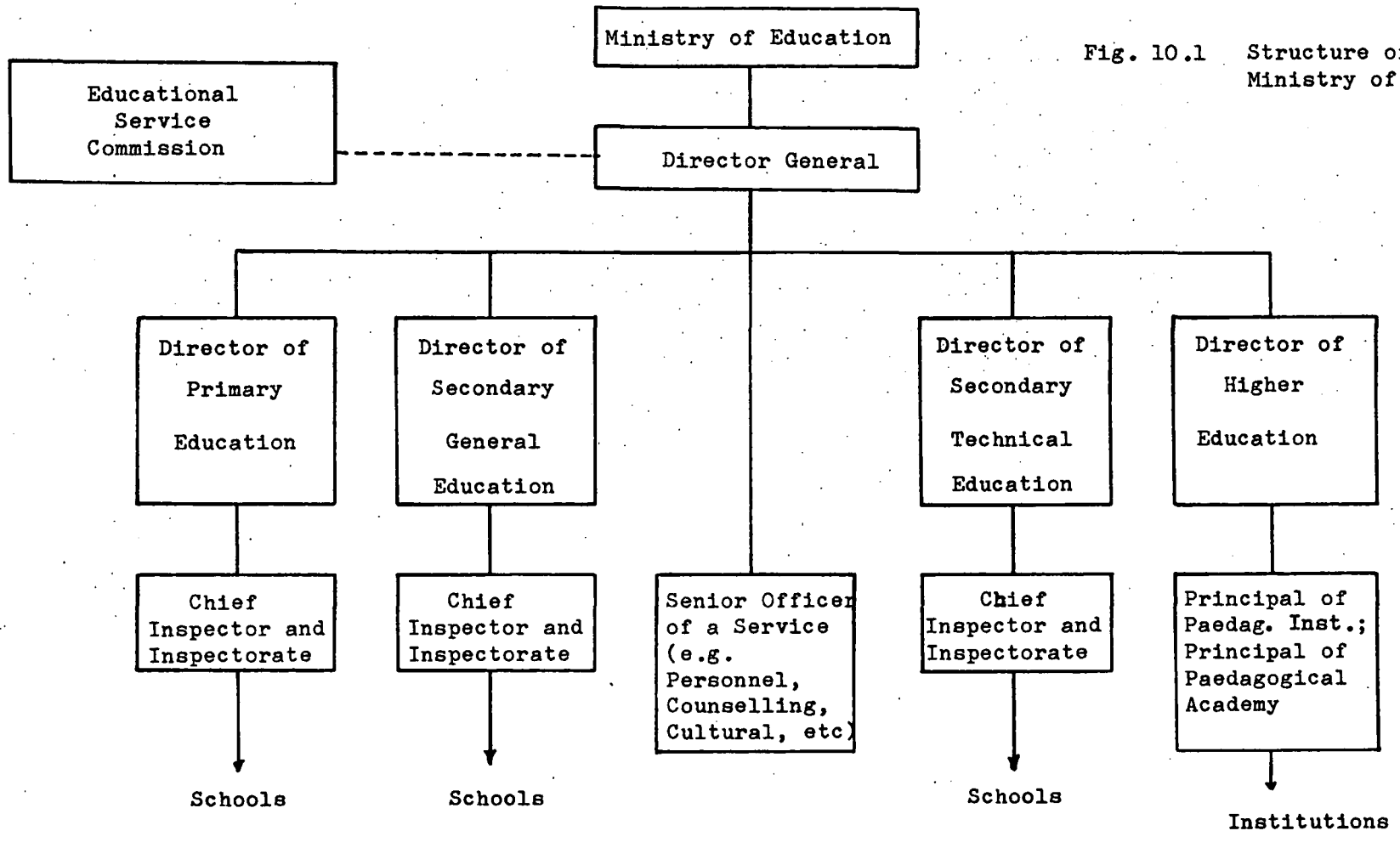

Fig. 10.1 Structure of the Ministry of Education

Department concerned in a given instances. These services are: Educational Planning, Educational Research and Evaluation, Curricula and Publications, Counselling and Vocational Guidance, Technical Services, Personnel, Social Science Research, and Cultural Services (see figure 10.1).

Independent of this formal administrative structure of the Ministry, there is a five-member body, "The Educational Service Commission", appointed directly by the President of the Republic for a three-year period, whose jurisdiction is the appointment, secondment, transfer, promotion, retirement and disciplinary control of the teaching and supervisory personnel of the educational service. But they cannot proceed to exercise these functions except upon the receipt of written request concerning a given post, teacher or inspector, submitted by the "Competent Authority", i.e. the Minister of Education, usually acting through his Director General.[143] The construction and maintenance of school buildings, equipment and materials, is the responsibility of local School Committees which are appointed from time to time by the Council of Ministers. They have no say in purely educational matters. In the schools themselves the hierarchy derives from the headmaster who is assisted by a number of assistant headmasters depending on the size of the school. In secondary education, usually for every 200 pupils there is an assistant headmaster; in primary education, usually class A' schools with 4 teachers and over have at least one assistant headmaster.

Two basic characteristics are descernible in the administration of education in Cyprus: centralisation and departmentalisation. The Minister of Education is the central authority in education, and controls the financial resources, as well as all the teaching, supervisory and administrative staff. The

Minister as the "Competent Authority" acting through his Director General, and down the administrative ladder through the Heads of Departments and the inspectorate, lays down the policy in essential detail, prescribes the curricula and the text-books to be used in schools, and supervises and controls the teaching staff. As a result of centralisation teachers, assistant headmasters and headmasters, and even the inspectorate sometimes, behave in a cautious and defensive way.[144] The teachers' unions are an effective pressure group, and through the "Joint Committee on Staff Matters for the Educational Service" do influence educational policy. They are also represented on the Educational Council, an advisory body which influences educational policy. However, this participation, although makes the system more democratic, does not make the system less centralised and authoritarian, at least for the average teacher.

The other characteristic of the educational system is that it is departmentalised, "with very little interplay between its departments".[145] This is due not only to the departmentalised structure of the Ministry but to the differences in professional preparation between the teachers of primary and secondary education, and between the primary and secondary school inspectorate. Primary school teachers are professionally trained at the Paedagogical Academy and they are generalists, teaching all or most of the subjects of the primary school curriculum. They enjoy lower social and professional status than their secondary school colleagues, who are specialists and receive no formal pre-service paedagogical training. This differention finds its way into the inspectorate where the secondary school inspectors enjoy higher salary scales than their primary school colleagues. Obviously a more unified profession would be more understanding of each others' roles and achieve better co-ordination of

efforts. Pre-service and in-service training on a common basis, at least in some common aspects, would certainly play an important role in this respect.

The organisation of the school system is made up of four stages: pre-primary, primary, secondary and higher, education (see figure 10.2). The two complete stages are the six-year primary which is compulsory and the six-year secondary which, although not compulsory, is almost universal. In addition specialised schools are available for training the blind, the deaf and the mentally handicapped children, where the pupil/teacher ratio is of necessity very low (see Appendix B.24). Other schemes provide for the training of those who left the formal educational system and entered gainful employment, such as the Apprentices Scheme and the accelerated upgrading and retraining courses, both organised by the Industrial Training Authority. Each of the first three stages of the educational system is described very briefly below, together with the major landmarks of its growth.[146] The stage of higher education was dealt with in the previous section when discussing the plans for a university in Cyprus.

Pre-primary education for children below the age of 5½ years is offered in state and private kindergarten and day nurseries. Day-nurseries are in fact baby centres, while the kindergartens aim to develop good habits, co-operation and sociability, but give no formal training in the three R's. Private kindergartens, which are registered and supervised by the state, accept children at the age of three while state kindergartens accept children at the age of four. Attendance is not compulsory but wherever the Government has established such schools most parents have taken advantage of those facilities. The increase in the number of children attending such establishments in the last 20 years or so is a reflection of the change in the traditional role of

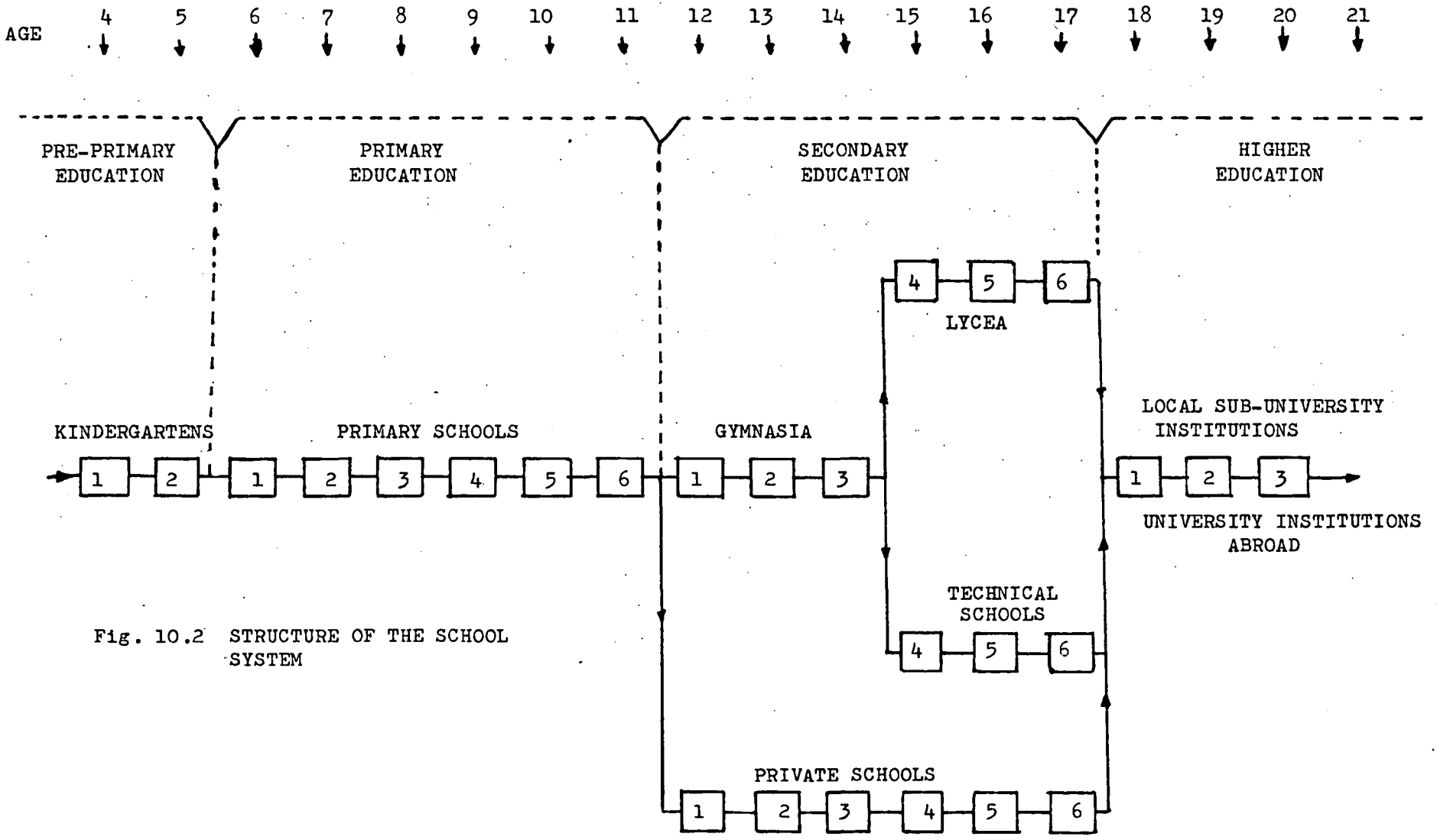

Fig. 10.2 STRUCTURE OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

the Cypriot mother to that of a working mother. The number of children attending kindergartens or day-nurseries in the academic year 1966-67, the earliest year for which reliable figures are available, was 2,849, while in 1982-83 it was 12,466, more than fourfold (see Appendix B.19).

The private sector has taken the lead in this stage of education, and they charge fees. A more active involvement by the state in pre-primary education was taken after the Turkish invasion of 1974 when the Government established day-nurseries and kindergartens in refugee camps. As from 1975 a new branch for training kindergarten teachers was inaugurated at the Paedagogical Academy, while day-nursery mistresses are still trained in Greece. In 1979 the Council of Ministers decided that pre-primary classes would be gradually attached to most primary schools to provide for children for the ages 4 to five and a half.[147] Since then the share of the state sector in pre-primary education has become almost equal to that of the private sector. But the greatest need in both sectors, and especially in the private one is in-service training of the staff. Of the 747 teaching staff who were in 1982-83 serving in pre-primary education 266, i.e. about one-third, were unqualified.[148] Another problem which the young kindergarten teachers face in their early years of teaching is how to organise the equipment and the activities of the kindergarten classes. This is one of the findings of the survey analysed in Chapter 14 of the thesis.

Primary education has become universal after World War II, but it was also made compulsory two years after the island became independent. It is free of charge, and books and writing materials are also provided free of charge. It lasts six years, is co-educational, and starts at the age of five and a half, but there is only one intake each September. Since it became compulsory in 1962 the number of

children attending primary schools has been determined by demographic fluctuations. The peak was reached in 1965-66 with 71,462 children; in 1982-83 it was 44,530, a decrease of 38 per cent. This development has enabled the average pupil/teacher ratio to fall from 36.3 at the beginning of independence to 21.2 in recent years (see Appendix B.20). Of course the teachers had been demanding such reduction for many years.[149]

A problem of primary education in Cyprus has always been, and still is, the number of small (one-teacher) schools in small communities. Efforts have been made several times to establish central primary schools, and the authorities have offered tempting conditions such as new buildings and equipment and free transport for pupils. Villagers reject the idea because they fear that the close-down of their village school would lead to the dissolution of their village. In 1982-83 there were 113 one-teacher schools, serving 1,578 pupils, i.e. the average pupil/teacher ratio for these schools was 14, as against 21 for the whole of the country.[150] Obviously a teacher in a one-teacher school has to teach all the subjects to all the classes of the school; in a central school he has to teach usually only one class and even specialisation in such subjects as Music, Art, Physical Education and Dancing is possible. In large schools the six-year studies of primary education have been divided into two three-year cycles under separate headships. The kindergarten teachers trained at the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus are trained so as to be able to teach either a pre-primary class or in the lower cycle of primary education. It is obvious that the conditions of Cyprus require that the primary and pre-primary school teachers be trained as generalist teachers.

The first curriculum of primary schools was drawn up in 1898

and was based on the Greek prototype. In 1935 a new Cypriot-oriented curriculum was introduced by Cullen, the Director of the Department of Education, after the Colonial Government took over full control of primary education. English was introduced as a subject in the top two classes of large primary schools. A minor revision was made in 1949.[151] In 1960 the curriculum was revised by a team of inspectors in order to bring it more in line with the curricula used in mainland Greece, a policy pursued by Spyridakis, and English was abolished as a subject. A few years later it was re-introduced in the top two classes of all primary schools. Other minor changes were made from time to time but a major reshuffle was made in 1979. The aim was to give the teacher more freedom and flexibility. Since then, however, many of the Teachers' Conferences conducted by the primary school inspectorate, and many in-service training seminars organised and carried out by the Paedagogical Institute for primary school teachers have been concerned with the application of this new curriculum.[152] Many of the text-books used in primary school in Cyprus over the years were those used in Greece; they were donated to Cyprus and obviously influenced what was taught in the Cypriot schools. With the introduction of the new curriculum in 1979 and the greater "cypriotisation" of education, more and more text-books are written and produced in Cyprus by teams of primary schools teachers, seconded to that purpose and working under the supervision of the inspectorate. The same kind of effort has been going on in secondary general and secondary technical education since 1979, after their curricula were also revised.

Up to 1972 primary schools were functioning from 8.00 a.m. to 12.00 noon six days a week and from 2.00 p.m. to 4.30 p.m. on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays. As from 1972, mainly because of union pressure, their workload was reduced by about 25 per cent and

they work only in the morning from 8.00 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. This reduction has created several social problems. The morning sessions are quite intensive, with very short breaks, and the afternoons are free for children at the time of the day when many working mothers are away from home. A way must be found to keep children occupied in the afternoons in an understanding paedagogical environment under safe conditions. On the other hand a good proportion of teachers, especially in the towns, have taken advantage of the situation and they organise private lessons for primary school pupils in the afternoons.[153]

Secondary education is not compulsory but it is to-day almost universal in Cyprus. Recent statistics indicate that 97 per cent of an age cohort of primary school leavers continue their schooling at the secondary level and at the end 70 per cent of an age cohort graduate from secondary school. To-day secondary education is free up to the age of 16 (for refugees and in technical schools up to 18) and it is the aim of the Government to make it wholely free. The growth of secondary education started after World War II and it accelerated after independence. In 1960-61 there were 25,890 pupils in secondary education; in 1982-83 the number reached 48,253, almost double (see Appendices B.21, B.22 and B.23).

Secondary education takes place either in state or private schools. In recent years the share of private secondary education was around 10 per cent. Its greatest share of 31 per cent was in 1970-71.[154] Up to 1972, the year when entrance examinations to secondary state schools were abolished, the private schools used to attract, among others, those pupils who failed to pass the entrance exams of the state schools. Starting with the same year, fees were progressively abolished for the first three forms of state schools, while private

schools were not subsidised by the state (except for a small grant for refugee pupils after 1974). These two changes reduced the number of pupils of the private schools to their present level of around 10 per cent. Private secondary schools are not recognised by the Greek Ministry of Education, and they diversified their curricula either to cater for commercial and secretarial studies leading directly to employment, or to prepare pupils for English and other foreign universities. Some of them use English as the language of instruction. As far as teacher education is concerned they are often the refuge of unemployed teachers awaiting their turn to be appointed to state secondary schools.

State secondary schools are organised into two cycles of three years each. The lower cycle is called "gymnasium". Before 1979 the six-year academic secondary school was called "gymnasium". Now the lower secondary school cycle is called "gymnasium" and the higher cycle is called "lyceum" if it is academic. Originally the "gymnasium" was a selective school. As from September 1972 entrance examinations were abolished and pupils were admitted on the strength of their primary school leaving certificate; at the same time lower secondary education became progressively free. After the Turkish invasion the "lyceum" also became non-selective. Up to 1980 a pupil who had passed successfully through the gymnasium cycle could choose any one out of three specialisations in the lyceum cycle, i.e. the "classical", the "science", of the "commercial" specialisation. These three specialisations were academic and prepared the pupils for further studies at Greek universities. After 1980 a reform was introduced and, instead of three specialisations, seven specialisations are available, provided there are at least 15 pupils interested in a specialisation. The new name given to this type of upper academic secondary school was

"Leceum of Optional Subjects". Each specialisation is made up of "common core subjects", taking up about 50 per cent of the time, "specialisation subjects", taking up about 45 per cent of the time and "complementary subjects" taking up the rest of the time.[155]

At the end of the gymnasium cycle which is a lower secondary school of general education common to all pupils, they are free to follow either a specialisation in the academic lyceum or a more practical course at a technical-vocational school. From the point of building utilisation some buildings house only the gymnasium cycle, or only the lyceum cycle or both. Administratively they come under the Director of Secondary (General) Education. Other buildings for the technical-vocational schools proper often house a gymnasium cycle as well, and come under the administration of the Director of Technical and Vocational Education. However, the gymnasium cycle wherever it may be housed is the same everywhere. Technical-vocational schools proper are divided into two sections, the technical and the vocational. At present the technical section can lead to university studies in Engineering while the vocational cannot. The course in both sections lasts three years but the vocational one puts more emphasis on workshop techniques and its last year is a day-release one, i.e. 3 days per week in school and 3 days in industry. This structure was introduced as from 1977.[156] Previously the vocational section was only 2 years, and before 1964 it was a four-year one but started at the age of 12, i.e. it included the lower gymnasium cycle. After 1964 as a result of the George Papandreou reforms the gymnasium proper became a common three year school of general education for all pupils. A problem peculiar to the teachers of technical subjects is their need for frequent retraining in subject-matter because of papid technological advances. They are not required to have any paedagogical pre-service training for

appointment just as the other secondary school teachers.

Secondary education has suffered a substantial loss of buildings because of the invasion, just like the other stages of education, and for several years the existing buildings were used for morning and afternoon shifts. Gradually the problem has been alleviated by erecting new buildings. At the same time there was an attempt to have many area gymnasia and a small number of lycea buildings to make the choice of subjects of specialisation possible.[157] However, the greatest expenditure of the education budget is on the salaries of teachers. It forms over 80 per cent of it.[158] That is why even from an economic point of view teacher education is very important to the educational system of Cyprus.

CHAPTER 11

MAJOR ISSUES IN THE EDUCATION AND PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF TEACHERS IN INDEPENDENT CYPRUS (1960-1985)

One of the aims of this thesis is to survey and discuss the post-independence state of the system of education and professional development of teachers in Cyprus, focusing attention on the following themes or issues:

1. The methods of recruitment of teachers, their motives for choosing teaching as a career and their socioeconomic and educational backgrounds;
2. the content and organisation of the pre-service training of teachers;
3. the problems of induction of teachers during their early years of teaching;
4. the content and organisation of the in-service training of teachers;
5. the professional status of teachers as a function of their pre-service and in-service training; and
6. the main factors in the formulation of policies for the education and professional development of teachers in Cyprus.

These themes or issues have been identified as important through a pilot study.[1*] In Part One of the thesis they were traced and discussed in the context in which they emerged during colonial times, and in Part Two they were further considered in the particular post-independence context in which they recurred, either in the same or

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* Notes and references to this chapter start on page 909.

in different form, or even died away. The purpose of this chapter is to review the salient aspects of the above issues, and to discuss their interrelations.

11.1 The Recruitment of Teachers

The lack of an efficient policy for the recruitment and selection of primary school teachers has been a recurring theme in their education and their professional status during the post-independence period.

Before 1923 primary school teachers were appointed and paid by local School Committees and, although they enjoyed high social esteem, teaching was not a financially attractive occupation. The supply of teachers was barely adequate to meet the demand, and there was no point in selecting the entrants to the teaching profession. After 1923 primary school teachers became Government employees and their salaries were raised and became attractive. But the Normal Schools, instead of recruiting their students, expanded their intake to satisfy the interest of the aspirants. The primary school teachers frequently protested about this state of affairs, but to no avail. As a result there was an oversupply of primary school teachers and consequent unemployment. A chance to raise the quality of the entrants to the teaching profession was missed at that time, and the oversupply was even used as a pretext by the Colonial Government to force the closure of the Normal Schools. After 1937 the Government took control of the training of primary school teachers and solved the problem of their recruitment in a satisfactory way. The Government made the profession even more attractive than before, by increasing the salaries of teachers on six occasions in fifteen years, established post-

secondary Teachers' Training Colleges, applied proper selection procedures and limited the numbers of students under training according to the projected needs of the primary schools. As a result the quality of the entrants to primary school teaching was raised, there was no teacher unemployment, and the status of the profession was greatly enhanced.[2]

After independence the problems of recruitment and selection of primary school teachers recurred in another form. Entrance to the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus, which was the new name given to the Teachers' Training College, was always based on the results of a competitive entrance examination. But during the first few years of independence a certain proportion of applicants from families of ex-fighters of the Cyprus Revolution was accepted ex-gratia in the Academy. The biggest malaise was, however, the "back-door" of the Paedagogical Academies of Greece. Those who could not pass the entrance examinations of the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus could still become teachers by entering the Paedagogical Academies of Greece without an entrance examination, as "Greeks of the diaspora". Similarly the Greek Cypriot drop-outs of the Greek universities, where they were also accepted in the first place without entrance examinations, often took refuge in the Greek Paedagogical Academies, which offered a shorter (two-year) course. The result was in effect no selection of those Greek Cypriots who wanted to become primary school teachers. After the revision of the schemes of service for primary school teachers in 1969, to require a three-year course of training, the Cypriot Educational Authorities were forced by the delicate political circumstances of those years to accept the graduates of the Greek Paedagogical Academies in the third year of the course of the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus. The Principal and the staff of the

Academy clearly resented having to accept in their final year students that they had already rejected on the strength of their entrance examination results two years earlier. The "back-door" of the Greek Paedagogical Academies had a very damaging effect both on the quality of the entrants to the teaching profession and on the work of the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus.[3]

The quality of the entrants to the teaching profession, while primarily determined by the efficiency and appropriateness of the selection procedures employed, does also depend on the motives of those who are drawn into teaching, on the alternatives available to them, and on the demand for teachers. These factors were not always favourable. During the period 1959 to about 1968 there was a demand for primary school teachers mainly because of the increase in the number of pupils, especially after primary schooling became compulsory in 1962.[4] At the same time there were better alternatives for young secondary school-leavers in the Government Civil Service and in secondary school teaching, and many good school-leavers were drawn into those occupations rather than into primary school teaching. The cumulative effect of these circumstances was that the quality of the students of the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus during the period 1959 to 1968 was low and, because of the "back-door" of the Greek Paedagogical Academies, the overall quality of the entrants into the profession was even worse.[5]

The situation improved during the period 1968 to 1975 as regards the entrants to the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus because the demand for primary school teachers decreased, owing to the fall in pupil numbers, and because graduate unemployment "pushed" more people into seeking to become primary school teachers. But the "back door" of the Paedagogical Academies in Greece was still open and, from 1967 to

1974, there was even some encouragement of such course of action by the military Government of Greece for political reasons. The Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus was contracting during those years and there was even the danger of closing down altogether.

In 1975 there was a reactivation of an agreement between the Education Ministries of Greece and Cyprus that henceforth no Greek Cypriots would be accepted in Greek institutions for training as kindergarten or primary school teachers. The Cypriot Educational Authorities were thereafter able to regulate the number of entrants to kindergarten and primary school teaching according to the projected needs of the school system, through the competitive entrance examination of the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus. The problem of recruitment of these teachers was solved in a satisfactory way and the result was a great improvement in the quality of the entrants to the profession.[6] However, the motives of school-leavers who aspire to become teachers, their socioeconomic and educational backgrounds have scarcely been investigated empirically in the years since independence. Probably the motives of the aspirants need to be taken into account in deciding future policies for recruitment to teaching. They are examined empirically in Chapters 13 and 14 of the thesis.

The recruitment of secondary school teachers has followed a completely different course. Throughout the colonial times there was a shortage of Greek Cypriot secondary school teachers with university qualifications. Because of this shortage, the governing bodies of secondary schools often "imported" university qualified staff from Greece and even used unqualified Cypriot staff. As the supply was smaller than the demand there was no point in selecting those university graduates who applied to be appointed as secondary school teachers.[7]

The shortage of secondary school teachers continued after independence, roughly up to 1965. The qualification required for most specialisations has always been a university degree in the subject concerned, but no paedagogical training. By 1972 there was an oversupply of Greek Cypriots mostly with university degrees who applied to be appointed as secondary school teachers. To avoid accusations of nepotism and to regulate appointments, the Authorities issued Regulations, which are still in existence, whereby applicants are assessed and placed on "lists of candidates for appointment", by specialisation. The criteria for assessing an applicant are the quality of his academic qualifications, date of qualifying, date of application, experience in teaching and so on. Each of those criteria earn an applicant a certain number of points and his place on the list for his specialisation is decided by the total number of points so assigned. Appointments either on probation or on contract to a post in each specialisation are made from the respective list in strict order.[8]

This procedure of grading applicants seems fair and democratic. But there is an important provision in the Regulations, that those on each list of candidates who are not appointed at the beginning of a school year because of the shortage of vacancies are placed on the top of each list for the following year. In the following year when a new cohort of graduates applies, they are graded among themselves and placed on each list, after the applicants of the previous year who remained unappointed. Hence, for each specialisation there is grading among the graduates of a given year but not among them as a whole. As a result the best candidate in a specialisation for a given year is placed after the worst candidate of the previous year. No matter how good a candidate may be he must wait until all the applicants who graduated before him are appointed. Seniority is the

prevailing criterion, and the result is no selection.

In the last ten years or so, because of the oversupply of graduates, the number of applicants on the lists awaiting their turn for appointment has increased to such an extent that there are more than twice as many applicants as there are secondary school teachers serving in the schools of the island. Depending on their specialisation, applicants have to wait usually for five to ten years until their turn comes to be offered an appointment. There is no problem with primary school teachers because their number is controlled, so as to meet the expected demand, through the competitive entrance examinations held by the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus. But the number of university graduates is not controlled, and anybody can study in any university of the world at his own expense. The system of grading mainly by seniority appears to be very damaging to the quality of the entrants to secondary school teaching. Probably good graduates, instead of waiting for an appointment, are drawn into other occupations, and in the end mostly graduates of average academic attainment go into teaching. This hypothesis is examined empirically in Chapter 13 of the thesis.

11.2 The Content and Organisation of the Pre-Service Training of Teachers

Throughout the colonial and post-independence years there was a clear dichotomy in the training of primary and secondary school teachers in Cyprus. Primary school teachers were generalists, teaching the whole range of subjects of the primary school curriculum, whereas secondary school teachers were subject teachers. Primary School teachers were required to have paedagogical training in a Normal School, Teachers' Training College,or Paedagogical Academy of sub-

university status, whereas secondary school teachers were not required to have any pre-service paedagogical training, but only subject-matter preparation in a University. Some of them received some theoretical paedagogical preparation during their degree studies, but this has never been a prerequisite for appointment. This dichotomy persists even to-day, both in subject-matter and in paedagogical training.

During colonial times the pre-service training of primary school teachers was carried out first by the Normal Schools and later by the Teachers' Training Colleges. The major methodological shortcomings of the Normal Schools were the lack of teaching practice by the students over an extended period and the mostly theoretical character of the instruction imparted. The Teachers' Training Colleges remedied these shortcomings, and became purpose-built post-secondary institutions for the training of primary school teachers.[9] After independence the pre-service training of primary school teachers was carried out by the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus, although a proportion of them was trained, during the period 1960 to 1975, in the Paedagogical Academies of Greece. After 1975, following a reactivation of an earlier agreement between the Governments of Greece and Cyprus, the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus became the sole institution for training Greek Cypriot kindergarten and primary school teachers.

The course of the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus always included the following five components usually distinguished in a teachers' training course: (a) Foundation disciplines of Education, such as Psychology and Theory of Education, (b) Methodology of Teaching, (c) Teaching Practice and Demonstration Lessons, (d) Content of the primary school curriculum in both academic and practical subjects, and (e) Subjects and activities of personal general education. However, the content and the organisation of these

components of the curriculum of the Academy was modified several times. This relfects the concern for raising the standard of teacher education and thereby the "efficiency" of teaching in schools, the suggestions of foreign educational consultants, and the current views as to the optimum balance between the professional and the general education and training components of the curriculum of the Academy. But the underlying problem has always been that the primary school teacher in Cyprus is a generalist, an encyclopaedist, who has to teach all (or at least most) of the subjects of the primary school curriculum.

The prevailing opinion both among students and staff of the Academy was that the curriculum was overloaded with too many subjects, and did not offer enough chances to the students to develop initiative in the fields of private study and educational research, nor did it allow enough time to the staff to assess the work of the students closely and constructively. Most subjects were studied superficially and the organisation of the course often resembled a gymnasium. Given that the primary school teacher in Cyprus must remain a generalist, several changes were made to the curriculum of the Academy over the years. They aimed at combining some subjects, dropping others or concentrating the subject-matter in modules to be covered in shorter time-spans.[10]

But the basic problem remained. An obvious but costly solution is the extension of the course of the Paedagogical Academy from three to four years. This is favoured by the Primary School Teachers' Union because they will be in a better position to demand higher salaries. In Greece the Paedagogical Academies will be gradually phased out, and as from September 1984 the training of kindergarten and primary school teachers is carried out in the universities, where students follow a four-year course.[11] In Cyprus

the upgrading of the Academy has been linked to the establishment of a university, which has not yet materialised. The views of students and staff of the Academy on its curricular problems are examined in Chapters 14 and 16 of the thesis.

Two other problems which marked the development of the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus during the past 25 years of its life were the selection of its students and the tenure of its staff. The problem of the proper selections of students has been solved in a satisfactory way, but the tenure of its staff has not. Secondment to the Academy carried a small fixed allowance, but their position remains insecure and ambiguous. Since posts at the Academy are not permanent, seconded staff are likely to leave on being promoted. Over the years the result has been a very high turnover, amounting to an average service of less than four years for each member of staff. This did not help planning by the principal, nor commitment by the staff.[12] The problems of the staff of the Academy and other related problems are examined empirically from the point of view of these staff, of the teachers' unions and of the officials of the Ministry of Education in Chapter 16 of this thesis.

11.3 The Problems of Induction of Teachers During Their Early Years of Service

Induction of the young teachers did not receive any specific attention during colonial times, although it was even then a problem. After independence the Educational Authorities became more concerned about it. The Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus carried out in 1970 a survey among its graduates enquiring about their problems of induction into the profession. Unfortunately the sample of the study was not representative. Out of 267 teachers who received the (open)

questionnaire of the survey only 27 responded. As perceived by those respondents, there were certain shortcomings in the course of the Academy and a lack of adequate support of the young teachers by their headmasters and their inspectors. The results of the survey were presented by the Assistant Principal of the Academy during a conference of Academy staff and primary school inspectors. It was suggested at that conference that special attention should be given to this problem by the inspectorate. It is difficult to know the extent to which the overworked inspectorate were able to offer a satisfactory solution.[13]

Another concern of the Educational Authorities was the induction of the secondary school teachers, who were not required to have any paedagogical training in order to be appointed. The major aim in establishing the "probationers' course" at the Paedagogical Institute was to assist the induction of secondary school teachers. However, this aim was badly served because the course usually came too late. Only teachers who were on probation were entitled to attend the course, and many of them had already served several years on contract, without any paedagogical guidance, at least on an organised basis.[14] The problems of induction of the kindergarten, primary and secondary school teachers are investigated empirically in Chapters 14 and 16.

11.4 The Content and Organisation of the In-Service Training of Teachers

In-service training on a formal and organised basis started in the early 1950's, but it was provided only for primary school teachers because secondary education was not under the control of the Colonial Government. Originally the aim was to explain to the teachers the philosophy underlying the new primary school curriculum of 1949, and to spread the "modern methods" of teaching promoted at the

Teachers' Training Colleges, but with the passing of time it became more a matter of course, a means of continuous renewal and improvement of teachers. Formal in-service training took the form of summer courses of one to two weeks duration each, and comprised lectures, tutorials, discussions, demonstration lessons and production of audio-visual aids.

After independence these in-service summer courses were extended to secondary school teachers. The lecturers for these courses were drawn from the inspectorate, the lecturers of the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus and from Greece, the United Kingdom,and the United States. School teachers, both primary and secondary, continued to take part voluntarily in large numbers, and their participation was originally encouraged by their unions. The need for in-service training stemmed not only from a desire for renewal and improvement but also from the implementation of changes and reforms introduced by the Educational Authorities. However, very soon the primary school teachers realised that they were not legally bound to participate in in-service training activities taking place in their own free time, and their union used their participation as an argument in their negotiations with the Government over their salaries, especially at times when in-service training was necessary for the introduction of changes in primary schools. Thus, when the primary school teachers came out of the 1968 negotiations for the revision of their salaries dissatisfied, their union banned their attendance at all vacation courses. Their official stand was that in-service training was the sole responsibility of their employer and,therefore,it should be offered to teachers as of right, during working time only.

The position of the secondary school teachers was different. For a start there never was a requirement of paedagogical training of

secondary school teachers in order to be appointed. They always were specialists, required to have a degree in subject-matter, and traditionally considered paedagogical training as a dilution of their status. However, "The Teachers' of Communal Secondary Schools Law of 1963" required that all teachers of secondary general or technical education should have pre-service paedagogical training of some kind, or attend a "special series of paedagogical lessons" organised by the Office of Greek Education in order to have their appointment confirmed. When the new schemes of service were introduced in 1969 the requirement for paedagogical training before confirming appointment was maintained. Thus, there was always the legal need for in-service training of young secondary school teachers on probation, and the Educational Authorities organised vacation courses every year, usually of two weeks duration, to satisfy that requirement.[15]

It was soon realised that more formal arrangements were necessary to put the whole spectrum of in-service training activities on a more organised basis. A Unesco consultant, Professor George Wedell, was called to Cyprus to advise the Government on this subject. In his report, Wedell suggested the establishment of an Institute of Education whose main functions would be the in-service training of secondary and primary school teachers when on probation, the in-service training of all teachers between the completion of their probationary period and retirement, the promotion of educational research and the provision of an effective documentation and dissemination service of educational materials to be used in schools. Wedell's report was accepted by the Government, and a Paedagogical Institute was set up and officially started functioning in 1975.[16]

However several administrative, functional and staffing problems arose, which have not been fully resolved even to-day (1985).

The major administrative dispute was over the demand of teachers' unions that the Institute should be placed under the administrative jurisdiction of a Governing Body, on which they and the Ministry of Education would be equal partners. Obviously if they occupied a strong position on its Governing Body, the unions would have been able to serve their own interests better, by influencing decisions on such vital matters as to who should carry the financial burden involved in in-service training, and who should have the right to take part in in-service courses. Instead the Government agreed to a "Consultative Committee for the Paedagogical Institute", and undertook the burden of in-service training of probationary secondary school teachers only, on the basis of releasing them for one day per week for one year, on full pay. Participation in all other courses and activities was to be voluntary and in the free time of the teachers. The attitude of the teachers' union to participation in in-service training has been all along that all in-service activities should be carried out during working time, i.e. at the expense of the employer. They often discouraged their members from taking part in in-service training courses, and used their non-participation stand as an instrument in their disputes with the Government over pay and conditions of service.[17]

Another major problem of the Paedagogical Institute has been the status of its staff. All members of staff, except its Director, have been posted to the Institute on annual secondment. Seconded staff are often transferred back to schools either because they are promoted, or because they themselves ask to be transferred, after realising that by staying with the Institute they forfeit their chances of promotion. The result has been frustration of seconded staff, unwillingness of able staff to prolong their secondment and the never-ending task of the

Director in helping newly-seconded staff. Teaching at the Institute requires a great deal of preparation and experience, in order to be accepted by the teachers, and it takes at least two years to become acclimatised to the work of the Institute and become really productive. At times some courses and research activities of the Institute had to be abandoned because seconded staff were transfered or promoted in the meantime.[18]

Despite these and other disadvantages the work of the Paedagogical Institute has been noteworthy, and this must be attributed to the hard work and zeal of its Director and its staff and the valuable foreign technical assistance provided to the Institute. The problems and prospects of the Institute and of in-service training in general are examined empirically in Chapter 15 from the point of view of the teachers, and in Chapter 16 from the point of view of the teacher educators, the teachers' unions and the officials of the Ministry of Education. Some other matters relating to the efficiency of in-service training and the motives of teachers in participating in such activities are also examined in these surveys.

11.5 The Professional Status of Teachers as a Function of Their Pre-service and In-Service Training

Professional development has two major dimensions: the improvement of status and the improvement of practice. In this thesis the term "professional status" is used as an umbrella term to denote such items as tenure, salaries, promotion prospects, social prestige and generally those aspects of the profession which have the connotation of the teacher as a worker who has to earn a living. Teachers have been called "semi-professionals" or "quasi-professionals", compared to established professionals such as doctors

and lawyers, mainly because they receive a shorter training, based on a limited body of specialised knowledge.[19]

The professional status of teachers in Cyprus was determined during the colonial times, largely by the outcome of the dispute between the Colonial Government and the local nationalist leaders, headed by the Church, as to who should control the schools and the teachers. In 1929 the control of primary school teachers and in 1937 the control over their professional training passed to the Government, which fully realised the importance of maintaining a contented body of teachers on the one hand, and training them in an efficient way on the other. The Government raised the salaries of primary school teachers so as to make the profession attractive, and possibly secure their support in the continuing dispute with the nationalists, and raised the quality of their professional training. As a result the professional status of primary school teachers was enhanced. Similar control over secondary schools and teachers was attempted by the Colonial Government, but it was only partially successful.[20]

Despite the better financial treatment of primary school teachers by the Government, the professional status of well-qualified secondary school teachers was higher. The reason was that secondary school teachers were university graduates, whereas primary school teachers were training college graduates, that is, the difference can be attributed to the difference in their education and training. After independence, when both primary and secondary school teachers came under the control of the same employer, first the Greek Communal Chamber and then the Government, the importance of the differences in pre-service preparation became even more profound. In 1963 the Greek Communal Chamber, placed all teachers on salary scales strictly according to the length of their studies. Primary school teachers, who

then received only a two-year professional training were placed on the same salary scale as "grade C" secondary school teachers, who had attended a two-year course in their particular subject. Secondary school teachers who had attended a three-year course were classified as "grade B" teachers and placed on a higher scale, and those having a university degree (four-year course) were classified as "grade A" teachers and were placed on the highest scale.

The same principle of placing teachers on pay scales according to the length of their studies was applied by the Government in the 1968 revision of teachers' salaries, and even in the 1981 one. In 1981 primary school teachers' salaries were raised to the level of those of secondary school teachers who had attended a three-year course, mainly because they had also attended a three-year course at the Paedagogical Academy. Teachers of Physical Education were placed on the same salary scales as secondary school teachers "grade B" in the 1963 and the 1968 salary revisions because their course of study at the Academy of Physical Education in Greece was then a three-year one. Since September 1975 that course was lengthened to four years and, although it was not considered of university standard, it enabled Physical Education teachers to achieve in 1981 a pay scale higher than that agreed for primary school teachers, but slightly lower than that for university qualified teachers.[21]

Under these precedents, the best way both for primary and secondary school teachers to be able to claim successfully higher salaries is first to raise the length and level of their pre-service and in-service education and training. The Primary School Teachers' Union could not seriously press for extension of the course offered at the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus from three to four years, because the Paedagogical Academies in Greece were offering a two-year course

only. But as from September 1984 the training of primary school teachers in Greece is taking place in the country's universities, and involves a four-year course. Obviously the Primary School Teachers' Union will in the future be pressing the Cypriot Authorities to follow the Greek example and upgrade the Paedagogical Academy to a 4-year institution, and thereafter they will demand better salary scales. Similarly the Secondary School Teachers' Union will be in a better position to promote their interests if secondary school teachers are required in the future to attend a pre-service course of paedagogical training after graduating from university.

11.6 Major Factors in the Formulation of Policies for the Education and Professional Development of Teachers in Independent Cyprus

The major factors that determined the formulation of policies for the education and professional development of teachers during the colonial times continued after independence, although in different forms. They were:

(a) The Greek models,

(b) the teachers' unions,

(c) foreign educational influences, and

(d) economic considerations.

During colonial times educational policies were mainly a reflection of the political dispute between the nationalist leaders, who tried to promote the enosis movement, and the Colonial Government, who tried to combat the movement and turn the island into a loyal part of the British Empire. The nationalist leaders championed the Greek educational models and the Colonial Government the British models, but the real issue was who was to control the schools and the teachers and what ideals they would forster in the young. After independence the

issue of control obviously ceased to exist, but following the Greek models, with minor deviations, continued to be the educational policy of the Government of Cyprus. The reasons were both political and practical. The political situation in the island made the Greek Cypriots increasingly dependent on Greece, and the educational system of Cyprus was in essence subordinate to the Greek educational system. This was due to the fact that the educational pyramid in Cyprus was not complete. Cyprus has no university, and over the years the majority of the Greek Cypriots studied in Greece, where they were required to have graduated from a secondary school recognised by the Greek Government as following the Greek curriculum.

Unfortunately the Greek models in teacher education were not good models. The following examples suffice to illustrate the situation. In 1965 the course of the Paedagogical Academies both in Greece and Cyprus, following the "Papandreou reforms of 1964", was extended to three years; but with the fall of the Papandreou Government these reforms were diluted and then completely reversed by the Greek military government. The length of the course in Greece was reduced to two years and, because of their open door policy for Greek Cypriot students, the Greek Paedagogical Academies produced teacher unemployment and low quality teachers in Cyprus. Concerning the paedagogical preparation of secondary school teachers, the Greek universities did not develop their paedagogical courses, so that the training offered was largely inadequate. Concerning in-service training, no general scheme was introduced in Greece, save some long courses which really trained a few cadres for the school system, rather than classroom practitioners.

A recent research study (1978) reported by the Greek Ministry of Education itself, is very critical of the system of teacher

education in Greece. According to this study the education of primary school teachers at the Greek Paedagogical Academies was out of date, superficial and encyclopaedic. Their curricula were overloaded with assorted subjects, without a rational legitimisation of the relative proportions among general, special and paedagogical studies, and a disproportionate emphasis on Psychology. Staffing by secondment or by hourly paid personnel did not help commitment by the staff and the infrastructural provisions were inadequate. In the universities, according to that study, the paedagogical preparation of secondary school teachers was outdated, traditional, superficial, deficient in basic subjects, disproportionately theoretical and incoherent in content.[22]

However a major change was recently introduced in the training of kindergarten and primary school teachers. According to the "Framework Law" for institutions of higher education passed in 1982, the training of these teachers is to be undertaken by the Greek universities and last four years.[23] Already in September 1984 the first of these students have been accepted in the universities, and the Greek Paedagogical Academies will be gradually phased out. But in the area of teacher training of secondary school teachers nothing is provided in the Framework Law.[24] It is confidently expected that the Paedagogical Academy of Cyprus will be somehow upgraded following the Greek example.

The teachers' unions played a positive role in raising the professional status of their members but a negative role in their in-service training. Teacher union activism has raised the salaries of teachers to those of other Government employees with similar qualifications. Concerning in-service training, however, they often used their participation as an instrument for furthering union demands,

rather than as a way of improving professional practice. As recently as March 1985, when the demand of the primary school teachers for a re-evaluation of teachers' salaries was rejected by the Government, the Primary School Teachers' Union put a new "embargo" on all in-service training pursued in out-of-school hours, as a way of putting pressure on their employer.[25] In fact teacher education and in-service training was not one of the priorities of the unions, with the result that decision on the status of the Paedagogical Academy and of the Paedagogical Institute were often postponed, and they are still unresolved (mid-1985).

Foreign influences in educational practice were imported to Cyprus through those Greek Cypriot teachers and Ministry of Education officials who studied Education in other countries, mainly in the United Kingdom and the United States. More manifest, however, was the influence of foreign educational experts who at various times advised the Government on such items as the University, the Paedagogical Institute, the Paedagogical Academy, Educational Planning and so on. These experts often promoted "cultural borrowing". In the feasibility study of the University of Cyprus, for example, the experts suggested a model of organisation of the School of Science and Engineering which is a blueprint of a British polytechnic, where one of them was a senior administrator.[26] This is not an unusual phenomenon, but it does illustrate the influence of foreign educational models on the educational policies promoted in Cyprus. In general the advice of the foreign educational experts was thought to increase the efficiency of the system, but in some cases their preconceptions were out of place. Methods and practices used in other countries are not always applicable to the socioeconomic context of Cyprus. An American consultant, for example, with whom the author had the chance to work, thought that the

best way to solve some problems of individual differences in pupil attainment was individualisation of instruction, using teaching machines. The question was where was the money to be found. This constraint is duly taken into consideration in this thesis in making recommendations for the improvement of the provisions for the pre-service and in-service training of teachers. All recommendations are carefully costed.

Obviously the question of economics comes in all educational policies and Cyprus is no exception. It can be argued that the Government of Cyprus has placed more emphasis on expanding the quantity of the educational provisions and much less on improving the quality of the teachers. Cyprus is a country with limited natural resources, and needs to use its human resources to the fullest possible extent. However the salary bill for teachers accounts for about 80 per cent of the educational budget, and their improvement through more vigorous and extensive pre-service and in-service education and training can only enhance their effectiveness, especially if it is carefully monitored.